

FORUM

Social Planning and the War

F. R. Scott

Crisis in the Youth Congress

Grace MacInnis

War on the Cultural Front

Northrop Frye

Canada's Problem

F. H. Underbill

The Budget

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The Outlook

AT THE MOMENT OF WRITING the final German assault upon Britain has not yet begun, but most discussion of the war consists of speculations as to its date, its methods and its chances of success. The delay, one would think, must have given time for the British to prepare themselves; and all the public news that one hears strengthens one's impression of the splendid morale of the British people. Yet Hitler's bombing raids both against shipping and against industrial centers have probably done more damage than is admitted by British communiques. The only concrete evidence on which the Canadian people can form a judgment on the energy and the capacity of the present regime in Britain is unfortunately provided by the muddle over sending children to this side of the ocean. The fact that the children of well-to-do parents can get away while the children of the poor have to stay, and that the prime minister declares that evacuation is a mistaken policy at present though children of his own cabinet ministers reach America — all this leaves a nasty taste in one's mouth. And one wonders how many departments of the British government have carried on their share of the war since June in the way that this department has. We have only verbal assurances about the other departments, and we had the same before the invasion of Norway and of France. On the other hand the British navy has shown forceful initiative in the Mediterranean, and British bombing raids must have done enormous damage to the Germans. In the month since the fall of France Hitler does not seem to have come a month closer to the subjugation of Britain.

The U.S.A. and the War

THE BEST JUSTIFICATION of democracy in recent months is the fact that the electorate of the greatest democracy in the world can choose next November between two presidential candidates

of such high quality as Franklin Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie. The most striking thing about the party conventions was that both parties found it necessary to take a strong stand against military intervention outside of the Americas, and yet both chose a standard-bearer who is much more interventionist than his party. But an American declaration of war is pretty clearly not going to be made in any near future. It would not enable the American government and people to do anything more than they are doing now to help Great Britain. If Britain holds out against the Hitler blitzkrieg this summer, the kind of help she will need from America in the next year or so will be exactly the kind of help she is getting now, only more of it — airplanes, munitions and other supplies. If she succumbs this summer American military action, if such becomes necessary, will be on this side of the Atlantic. As for the Far East, the United States for the moment cannot by military action stop Japan from doing what she pleases in China. With Europe in its present condition the American fleet cannot cross the Pacific, and with the Far East in its present condition it cannot be sent across the Atlantic. So that the limits within which the policy of any American government can vary are fairly narrowly defined.

Republicans vs. Democrats

BOTH PARTIES in the United States have isolationists and interventionists in their ranks, with the numbers of those who want to keep out of war in Europe largely preponderating, as the Gallup polls have shown. The real difference between the two presidential candidates, therefore, is on domestic policy. And in this field it is clear-cut. Mr. Willkie has posed as a liberal, and it is true that he is the only big business man on this continent who reads books written by economists, who has had an article published in the *New Republic*, and who made a good showing on the Information Please program. But his liberalism

consists of the belief that the chief danger now threatening the American people is the extension and concentration of political power at Washington. The New Deal, on the other hand, is based on a philosophy which holds that the monopolistic concentration of economic power in the hands of a few big business corporations is the real danger to effective liberty for the ordinary American citizen, and furthermore that experience has shown that big business cannot produce stability in the economic structure or security in the lives of 130 million American people. To protect the forgotten man government must step in to control business. The New Dealers have made many mistakes but they are going in the right direction. The real criticism to be passed on them is not their tendency towards dictatorship, but the inability of That Man to stick to one policy consistently. At present he is flirting energetically with business, and he has become so absorbed in European problems that he seems to have lost a good deal of his interest in constructive social reforms at home. But by the end of this campaign the unappeasable hatred felt for him by the business world will have shown itself so clearly and crudely that no doubt his interest in the forgotten man will revive.

Pan America

WHILE THESE WORDS are being written the Havana conference has only begun. It is clear already, however, that all Washington schemes for joint action by the twenty-one American republics are going to meet with opposition. The plain fact is that some of the main South American states, with a good prospect of Germany winning in Europe, are unwilling to stick their necks out. They are too dependent on European markets, they have alarmingly strong Nazi movements within their own frontiers, and they are not sure how effective any protection from the United States can be. A good many American commentators, indeed, are saying that the United States cannot guarantee any part of South America south of the bulge; though to admit this would be to give up an essential feature of the Monroe doctrine which warned trespassers from the whole hemisphere. So the process of achieving Western Hemisphere solidarity may be pretty slow. The one thing that would hasten it would be a demonstration by a Nazi putsch of how quickly one of these Latin American republics can be upset. The most effective method of immunization against the Nazi infection is to provide economic security for the Latin American peoples. Unfortunately for this purpose many of the staple products of

which they have surpluses to sell abroad compete with American products; but the American cartel proposal may save them from the necessity of direct barter agreements with Germany which would undermine their independence. Capital investments also can develop such products as tin and rubber for the benefit both of the Latin country which is the producer and of the United States which is the consumer, and which is now dangerously dependent for supplies of these materials on countries situated in the area across the Pacific that is now designated by Japan as part of the new Asia.

The End of 1789

OF COURSE all our spiritual comforters are assuring us that the French Republic will rise again. But they are the same people who assured us before the days of June of the unconquerable spirit of France, and of how the French people had only one aim — *il faut en finir*. Well, something has certainly been finished. All the news that has leaked out since the disaster shows that the real enemy of French resistance was within. The upper and wealthier classes of France had never accepted the democratic results of the French Revolution and had never believed in Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Many of them were eager enough for appeasement with Nazism to be traitors to their country. Among the masses of the population peasants and industrial workers had never come to trust one another very well, and France was the most backward of all the modern "democratic" countries in advancing from political democracy to economic democracy by way of the social service state. What is being established there now is probably not a German system of fascism; the colleagues of Pétain and Laval are not national socialists but conservatives in politics and Catholics in religion, and they will try to establish some sort of Catholic corporatism such as little Dollfuss and Schuschnigg tried to work in Austria. It is significant that there is no popular reaction this time as there was in 1870 in the Paris Commune. The French masses want quiet and rest, which neither their own democracy nor their rulers' imperialism managed to give them in the last 150 years.

The truth is that the role which France has tried to play in the world in our day was beyond her capacity. She had not the population to be a great state on twentieth-century standards, nor the development of large-scale mass industry. She ruined herself in trying to dominate Europe after 1919, after a victory which she had not won herself but only with British and American help. In the

rise and fall of great states God is still on the side of the big battalions. Paris may remain a world center of art and literature, but the cultural ideas which give leadership to a generation have usually in the past come from capitals which are political and industrial and military centers as well. If the ideas of 1789 survive in the world it will be because there still flourishes another great power which first gave inspiration to the men of '89 by the ideas of 1776. As for Paris, it will become the resort of American and German (and Russian?) women in search of clothes and of English men trying to get away from their suet puddings and Brussels sprouts.

A N. Y. Times Man on the C. C. F.

THE NEW YORK TIMES will not be suspected by anyone of red tendencies. Here is what John MacCormac, who was for years its Canadian correspondent, has to say about the C.C.F. in his book, *Canada: America's Problem*:

"The C.C.F. has done yeoman service in the Federal Parliament and has gained some ground in the provinces. But even its Fabian Socialism does not go down very well with the western farmers, who think of themselves as capitalists even though post-depression statistics have appeared to indicate that they are rather poorly paid hired men of the banks and mortgage companies. Neither has the C.C.F. received much support from organised labor . . . This is due in Quebec partly to the influence of the Catholic syndicates and elsewhere to the influence of the American Federation of Labor . . . A difficulty with which third parties in Canada have to contend is that under direct voting in single-member constituencies large minorities may go unrepresented . . . But neither of the two senior parties has ever been willing to adopt proportional representation, the alternative vote, or any other device which would produce a more representative parliament. The argument is that it would lead to group government. As a matter of fact Canada has group government now. The difference is that the groups play their part in the political caucus and behind the closed doors of the cabinet rather than in the open . . . When it comes to electing a House of Commons sectionalism becomes parochialism. Some of the most useful elements go unrepresented. Few of Canada's intellectuals get into the House of Commons . . . This is unfortunate when foreign affairs are under review. Canada's professors have almost a monopoly of knowledge of the subject but they are outside Parliament. Inside Parliament the subject is debated on a much lower intellectual level when it is debated at all. The best contributions have been made by the

C.C.F. which has generally numbered in its thin ranks a percentage of English-born Socialists capable of the intellectual rather than the demagogic approach."

But in this present parliament our Canadian newspapers have joined in a conspiracy of silence against the C.C.F. members. They give columns of space to the Hansonian windbag from New Brunswick but hardly an occasional paragraph to Mr. Coldwell. Naturally. For their proprietors are trying to preserve the old two-party system by denying publicity to the C.C.F. But talk to any of their press gallery reporters in Ottawa, and you will find that their private opinion of the quality of the C.C.F. group is exactly the same as that expressed by Mr. MacCormac.

Good Reading from England

A FEW MONTHS AGO a new book club came into operation in Britain — the Labor Book Service. Its directorate are pretty closely connected with the directorate of the Labor party, and it was no doubt started as a counter to the Left Book Club which had degenerated before the war into being practically one of the many fronts of the Communist party. The L.B.S. books appear once a month and cost members 2/6, plus 6d. postage. They are attractively printed and bound, and so far the matter in them has been first class. The first number was E. F. M. Durbin's *The Politics of Democratic Socialism*, a book which provides just about the best presentation of the moderate socialist position that has yet been published. Since then there have appeared Toni Sender's *Autobiography*, Chakotin's *Rape of the Masses*, Ciliga's *The Russian Enigma*, and a selection from Robert Blatchford's famous socialist articles and sketches made by the veteran himself, entitled *What's All This?* The address of the L.B.S. is 68-74 Carter Lane, London, E.C. 4.

The good old Fabian Society has undergone a reorganization and rejuvenation of late. Beatrice Webb is its president, with G. D. H. Cole serving as chairman and, so one gathers, the active force in the society. E. F. M. Durbin is its research secretary. The Fabian Quarterly in spite of its small size publishes a remarkably good collection of articles; for instance in its last number (Summer, 1940) is a debate on the attitude of socialists to projects of European or "Atlantic" federation between Barbara Wootton and D. N. Pritt. The Fabian Tracts are as good as ever; one of the best of the recent ones is that of Sir John Orr on nutrition in war. The Society also publishes a series of research pamphlets. Fabian headquarters are at 11 Dartmouth St., London, S. W. 1.

Canada's Problem

Frank H. Underhill

THE COURSE OF THE WAR since May 10 has destroyed all our familiar ideas about the kind of world in which we are likely to live for the rest of our lives. But so far the effects of the shock have not shown themselves in anything that Canadians have been saying or writing in public about the future of Canada. Our editors and politicians continue to plunge their heads, ostrich-like, into the folds of the union jack, and refuse to consider any of the possibilities which we may have to face in fact before another year is out. And this habit which prevents realistic discussion of our national policy has been a persistent factor in Canadian life. As Mr. MacCormac demonstrates brilliantly in his book on Canada,* our political leaders between the two world wars succeeded in stifling any real probing of the implications of our policy or lack of policy; and we went into the second war in a fit of sleep-walking. All through our history from Lord Durham's day to the present the best books about Canada, the books which provide penetrating analysis and enlightening conclusions, have been usually written by outsiders — though, significantly enough, none of the outsiders have been Americans or have written from an American point of view until Mr. MacCormac came along. Mr. MacCormac is himself a Canadian, but he writes for an American audience and as a man who acquired his knowledge as correspondent of the *New York Times*. No Canadian making his living in this country would dare to be so frank; most English Canadians would vehemently deplore such frankness.

This is why the MacCormac book should be read by everyone who wishes to base his thinking on something better than the pep-talks of our newspapers and radio. It is a very able study of Canada's difficult position between Britain and the United States and of what this may mean in the future for all three countries. Mr. MacCormac has his own pipe dreams about that future which would no doubt be dissipated if he lived as long in Washington as he has lived in Ottawa. But he is very clear about the essential contradiction within Canadian nationality. Canada becomes more North American every year and yet remains so British that disloyalty in this country, as he points out, means disloyalty not to Canada but to Britain; and he might have added that when the sense of

crisis deepens our school children are taught to sing not songs about Canada but "there'll always be an England." He believes that it is "vitally necessary for Canada to remain British while steadily growing more North American, if she is to retain her unity, which under present conditions has been maintained only by escape mechanisms that have left her with a steadily developing case of schizophrenia." But this delicate and precarious balance which he analyzes will be possible only as long as Britain remains a successful great power. He agrees that after a British defeat our American destiny would be inevitable, though he likes to speculate on a new British Empire with its center in Canada protected from Europe by a new English Channel, the Atlantic Ocean.

Mr. MacCormac argues several main points. His first one is that Canada's belligerency makes isolation impossible for the United States. The Monroe Doctrine forbidding European interference with the western hemisphere cannot be maintained if one of the states of the western hemisphere plunges into European wars. The American guarantee of our security raised no problems as long as Anglo-French victory seemed secure in Europe. But with a German-dominated Europe our dependence upon American protection will become so unescapable that we shall have to adjust our foreign policy to an American line. This was what Colonel Lindbergh was trying to tell us, though our newspapers successfully obscured the issue by some skilful moral indignation.

Mr. MacCormac also argues plausibly that Canada's retreat from imperial and European commitments after 1920 was a mistake, if we were only to end up anyway by joining in another European war. We surrendered the opportunity to exercise an influence over British policy; and, if our policy was only isolation between wars, it has been in its effects indistinguishable from a policy of blind and dumb subserviency to British imperialism. As he puts it, we preserved a technical virginity, but all along we had an assignation on the battlefields of Europe. Of course the logical conclusion of the King government's careful avoidance of commitments either in the empire or in the League should have been a declaration of neutrality last September. Mr. MacCormac thinks that the government has pursued a line as close to this as it thought public opinion would endorse and has shown a certain determination not to risk Canada's man-power, solvency and unity by sacrifices in Europe to any greater extent than necessary, (this was why the Canadian people voted for it in the election), that it whittled the empire air scheme down to an almost purely

*Canada—America's Problem: John MacCormac; Toronto, Macmillan; pp. 287; \$3.25.

Canadian one, being moved by anxiety lest Canada emerge from the war irrevocably committed to the empire as its permanent air center.

But, like most commentators, he exaggerates the isolationist and nationalist trend of Canadian policy in the 1920's and 1930's. He pays too much attention to incidents such as Chanak and the Halibut treaty and to the pronouncements of Mr. King which were so carefully baited to catch the nationalists amongst us. The fact is that in practically all the major issues between the two wars Canada followed the British lead; the fuss that the King government made over minor points distracted our attention from this essential fact at the time. Consider for example the question of relations with Russia. This was certainly a major issue, as we have all been able to see since last September. Yet there was practically no discussion of it in Canada for 20 years; we simply accepted the *faits accomplis* of successive British governments. In regard to the League also—another major issue — everything that we did was in accord with what British governments were doing at the same time. We rejected the Draft treaty of 1923 and the Protocol of 1924; we acquiesced or assisted in the British action in rendering League sanctions ineffective against Japan in 1931 and Italy in 1935. We cordially backed up the British expedient of "non-intervention" to help Franco in Spain. And as the crisis became more severe, our government applauded Mr. Chamberlain when he worked with Hitler at Munich in September 1938 and when he turned against Hitler in March 1939.

You can select your incidents from the 1920's and 1930's to prove almost anything you like. But the more thoroughly we re-examine those years the more difficult it is going to be to believe that, in the issues which we can now see were of vital importance, Canada was doing anything but tag along behind Great Britain. Our dominion status which brought such spiritual comfort to the nationalists of the school of the *Winnipeg Free Press* was largely a rhetorical pose. The Free Pressites are now tagging along comfortably behind Great Britain themselves.

Mr. MacCormac's main point is that, instead of pursuing the isolationist policy which he deplors, Canada might have played a big part in the empire and might have influenced empire policy so as to keep it in step with the policy of the United States. She should have exalted her role of interpreter between the two Anglo-Saxon powers to that of coördinator. And today she has a great future within her grasp if she will set herself to take in the millions of Englishmen who will want to leave Europe at the end of the war regardless of its

results and whose influx would make the dominion a great industrial country of 20-30 millions, the new center of the empire.

Most of this is, as has been said, mere pipe-dreaming. In the first place the idea that a small power like Canada could have substantially influenced or changed the determination of the government of a great world-power like Britain is fantastic. The incident which is usually adduced to prove what we might accomplish, the dropping of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1921 at the insistence of Mr. Meighen, really proves quite the contrary. The British did then what they always do under insistent colonial pressure; they gave up the form and kept the reality. Ten years later, in the Manchurian crisis of 1931, the British foreign office was supporting Japan as vigorously as if nothing had ever happened to the alliance. An examination of Sir Robert Borden's experience in the years of the last war, when Canada was following whole-heartedly the policy which Mr. MacCormac thinks she should always follow, will also fail to reveal any major cases in which Borden got the British to modify any policies on which they were set; and on the other hand Mr. Lloyd George found Sir Robert very useful in propounding policies which he, Mr. George, was pushing against the opposition of other Britishers.

And so with this vision which so attracts some people of a new British empire or commonwealth after the war with its center on this side of the ocean. The center of any empire will always remain where industrial and financial and military power is concentrated. That will continue to be in Great Britain if she defeats Germany. If she is defeated, some new system may grow up with its directing center on this side of the Atlantic. But in that case the capital of the new empire or alliance or entente, or whatever it may be, will be located where power is concentrated, and that will be in the United States. No verbal wizardry or ingenuity will ever produce any political system in which the United States is a partner and in which she is not a senior partner. And the new system will exist, whatever its forms may be, to carry out American policy. This American policy may be dressed up as Pan-Americanism or as Pan-Anglosaxonism or in some other fine clothes. But essentially it will be American policy made in Washington. For politics is always power politics, and for the rest of our lifetime the naked brutality of power politics is not going to be very well camouflaged by any verbal idealisms. The destiny of Canada as a small power is to follow the policy of the big power which can protect her most effectually.

The Budget

Eugene Forsey

FROM A SOCIALIST POINT OF VIEW the 1940 budget, whatever its shortcomings, has at least one outstanding merit: it will give the rich, for the first time in Canadian history, a taste of real taxation, on something approaching the British scale. Indeed this may seem to be putting it mildly. A table placed on *Hansard* by Colonel Ralston shows that in certain parts of Canada people with large incomes would pay in income taxes (dominion, provincial and in some cases municipal) and national defense tax as large an amount as in Great Britain, or larger. The most spectacular case, on which the capitalist press delights to dwell, is that of the married man with no dependents and an income of \$500,000 a year, living in Saskatchewan or Alberta. This wretched wight would actually pay more than his total income. Fortunately, however, there are no such persons in Saskatchewan or Alberta, nor are there likely to be in the near future. The effective rates for really large incomes are those in Ontario and Quebec. Even so, the comparisons, and the absolute amounts of taxes payable, are startling enough. In Ontario, on incomes of \$10,000 and up, the taxes range from 66% to 94% of the British rates, and on all incomes of \$20,000 and up they are more than 80% of the British rates. Still more remarkable are the figures for Montreal. There, for incomes of \$15,000 and over, the taxes are in every case close to the British figures and in most cases higher. On an income of \$30,000, for example, a married person with no dependents would pay \$14,910 in Montreal and \$14,796.31 in Great Britain; on \$50,000, \$28,823.50 in Montreal and \$26,943.19 in Britain; on \$100,000, \$68,424 in Montreal and \$66,547.56 in Britain; on \$500,000, \$433,682 in Montreal and \$405,765.69 in Britain.

Nevertheless, taxation of the rich in Canada is still only on "something approaching the British scale," for the Canadian rich man gets off far more lightly than the British in the matter of inheritance taxes. Our provincial death duties are nothing like as heavy as the British. A dominion inheritance tax is long overdue. The need for revenue is now greater than ever before, and this tax would produce a considerable revenue. A dominion inheritance tax would have been an excellent way of showing that all the fine words about "mobilization of wealth" really meant

something. Yet in the whole budget speech, covering almost 20 pages of *Hansard*, there is not one syllable on the subject.

Nor is there any mention of a post-war capital levy, such as Mr. Keynes has advocated. It is perfectly clear that a considerable part of the cost of war will be met by borrowing. In the absence of any plan of "deferred payments" of wages and salaries, à la Keynes, it is equally clear the bulk of this borrowing will be from wealthy persons and institutions. The net result will be to increase the interest payments to such persons and institutions and the inequality of the distribution of wealth; and if, as seems to be taken for granted, the war is followed by a major deflation, the fall in prices will tilt the balance still further by enormously increasing the real burden of interest payments. But apparently the government proposes to meet this situation neither by a debt-redemption levy nor even by inheritance taxes. No wonder Mr. Mackenzie King strenuously resisted the C.C.F. attempt to make conscription of men conditional on prior conscription of wealth!

But surely, someone may say, this leaves out of account the very stiff excess profits tax? It does. But is that tax really so stiff? The Excess Profits Tax Act of last September provided two alternative "plans" for levying the tax. Under plan A, the principle was to tax, at a graduated rate, all profits over 5% on capital. Under plan B, the tax was to be 50% of all profits in excess of the average for the years 1936-1939, after allowing a deduction for corporation income tax. The taxpayer was to choose whichever plan best suited his interests. A very brief survey of the accounts of most large Canadian companies was enough to show that almost none would choose plan A. In the new act, the government discards plan A, abandons the principle of a graduated tax on all profits over 5%, and falls back on plan B, increasing the rate to 75% of all profits in excess of the four year average, with a proviso that in no case shall the combined corporation income tax and excess profits tax be less than 30% of the company's profits. Seventy-five percent of excess profits looks like a pretty heavy tax. But a rough calculation for 26 large Canadian companies shows that even after paying these taxes they would still have left a handsome return on capital. In 1939, their

combined profits, before income tax, were some \$163,000,000, or about 22% on shareholders' investment as calculated under the September act. (The definition of "capital employed" is now to be changed. What the precise effect of this may be remains to be seen.) If their earnings in 1940 or any subsequent year were the same as in 1939, these companies, after paying corporation income tax at the increased rate and excess profits tax also, would still have left about \$113,000,000, representing a return of about 15% on capital. This can hardly be described as a very meager return for enterprise and risk. Certainly most Canadian farmers, whose enterprise and risk are pretty considerable, would think themselves amply rewarded if they could get half as much on their investments. It is not hard to see why the minister of munitions and supply had so much difficulty placing defense orders under the old 5% profits rule.

The new excess profits tax proposals, in fact, are based on the assumption that pre-war profits were reasonable and fair. Apart from what amounts to a 30% corporation income tax, the companies are to be allowed to keep anything up to their pre-war profits. But is the assumption justified? On the basis of 1939 earnings, one important Canadian company, after paying corporation income tax and excess profits tax, would have left a profit of almost 42% on capital. Another would have left over 30% on capital, another about 24%, several others around 20%. All of these are well established companies, in whose businesses no special risks are involved. Some of them have been making very large profits in the last few years precisely because of the imminence of war. Thanks to that fact, these very prosperous firms will get off extremely lightly. For firms which have had a particularly bad four years before the war, the new act will make special provisions; but for the opposite case there is at present no provision whatever. It is safe to say that this is not what the Canadian people were led to expect by the announcements about "mobilization of wealth" and "conscription of material resources," and that when, if ever, they find out what the new Excess Profits Tax Act means, they will be the reverse of pleased. Perhaps it was this which led the Conservative party to vote for the C.C.F. amendment demanding a 100% tax on all profits above a fixed rate, which would, of course, vary with the type of industry concerned.

Another feature of the budget which calls for

comment is the enormous increase in the income tax in the lower brackets, and the national defense tax. The exemption under the national defense tax is in equity much too low. Comparisons with Great Britain may seem to suggest that this is not so, but it must be remembered that for many years the masses of Canadians have had to pay far heavier taxes on consumption than their British fellow subjects. Now they are to pay increased taxes on consumption and direct taxes into the bargain. If the government had introduced inheritance taxes and a real excess profits tax, the special circumstances of the time might have justified placing these additional burdens on the ordinary man. As it is, the ordinary man, again if he succeeds in finding out what is happening, is likely to feel that he has been discriminated against by a government which has in this respect followed its customary policy of the line of least resistance.

No one is likely to object seriously to the new luxury taxes. But the war exchange tax will considerably increase the price of essential imported farm machinery, and of domestic fuel in the central provinces, to mention only two cases. Neither the farmers of the west nor the ordinary consumers of central Canada are in a very affluent position. Colonel Ralston's own figures, in the appendix to the budget, show that per capita real income in 1939 was still below the 1929 level, and that the disparity between wholesale prices generally and prices of farm products is increasing. It has been pointed out also by a distinguished authority that the farmers are likely to make a considerable concealed contribution to the common effort because of the price control which will keep their returns from rising as much as might otherwise have been the case. Again, no doubt, both farmers and consumers would willingly have made some contribution to the effort to economize our supplies of foreign exchange. But they may wonder why this contribution is exacted from them while the tax on dividend and interest payments to non-residents is left at the very modest figure of 5%.

Colonel Ralston's budget is drastic, a good deal more drastic than might have been expected from a government presided over by Mr. Mackenzie King. It has many commendable features, which have, however, received sufficient comment in the ordinary press. But it still leaves a very great deal to be desired, and serves to underline once again the necessity of an alert and effective C.C.F. opposition.

Social Planning and the War

F. R. Scott

FIVE YEARS AGO the research committee of the League for Social Reconstruction produced their book *Social Planning for Canada*. It set out to show why the capitalist economy of Canada had become unable to provide steady employment and an increasing standard of living for Canadians; how the growth of monopoly had resulted in a concentration of wealth and economic power which constantly threatened our democracy; and that the proper democratic solution of the problem was for the people of Canada, through appropriate public bodies, to begin planning their economic development so as to achieve social justice and economic security. Laissez-faire capitalism being on the decline, the only choice lay between fascism and a planned democracy.

The L.S.R. book was well received by the general public. Though hard to read and expensive to buy, it ran through two editions. A fortunate attack upon it by a well-connected St. James Street pamphleteer gave it some sale even in financial circles. But its teaching fell on stony ground, for the depression was lifting and the old controls in Canada were about to re-establish themselves through the victory of the Liberal party. Governmental inaction was voted into office in 1935—which meant that financial and monopolistic control carried on. Economic planning for democratic purposes was postponed.

Now the situation has drastically changed. The lessons that sweet reason and academic argument could not instil, have been driven home by the grim necessities of war. Two unplanned societies, France and England, found themselves retreating before the sheer efficiency of a Nazi-planned Germany. To meet that challenge England, late in the day, has discarded her economic individualism, and entered upon a new phase of war socialism. Socialist members of the Labor party have entered the cabinet in key positions. All property in England is now liable to conscription by governmental decree. The excess profits tax has reached 100%, and more than 15,000 firms are now under government control. Much of the old system remains (too much, as the example of the holdup in tank production showed) but the inadequacy of capitalist methods of war production is fully recognized. National planning has taken their place, using the techniques of capitalist manufacture but supplying new centralized controls directed to-

ward a national purpose. A new industrial revolution has begun.

In Canada, where the imitation of England is accentuated by war sentiment, the same process is underway. So far as the law is concerned, the War Measures Act and supplementary statutes already provide a greater accumulation of statutory authority in Ottawa than was ever contemplated by Canadian planners. The radical suggestions of five years ago are commonplace today. The constitutional difficulties have temporarily vanished through the coming into force of the dominion's residuary and emergency powers. Canada, like England, recognizes that if she wants the maximum wealth in war supplies she must use the methods of economic planning and not those of capitalism. Public bodies and government officials are now deciding what commodities are needed and in what quantities; they also decide where they can best be produced; men in factories then go ahead and produce them. The role of the private business man or corporation in these planned areas is to see that production is efficient—nothing more. Deciding where and what kind of new developments should come is a public responsibility.

This description doubtless over-simplifies the actual situation. We are running two systems side by side at the moment, and economic anarchy still exists in fields that badly need planning. The examples of Henry Ford and the British Columbia oil companies, both of whom sabotaged a governmental program, sharply reveal the dangers that lie in private ownership of essential economic activities. And we are still allowing extra profits to be made by private persons out of the war emergency. The Liberal party swamped the C.C.F. proposal in parliament to impose a 100% excess profits tax. Our war planning is shot through with traditional ideas of property rights derived from the laissez-faire period. This is scarcely to be wondered at when the composition of the planning boards is examined; to a great extent they consist of men with a necessary administrative experience, but with a social philosophy quite naturally belonging to another era. Nevertheless it remains true that the greatest lesson the public of Canada has ever had in national planning is now being given. And the simple fact emerges, that if this is the way to get more guns, it is also the way to get more butter. The methods used to save the country in time of war can be used to restore the country in time of peace.

Since this is the way our society is developing, the new problems confronting democracy in a planned society should now be faced. Such problems should, indeed, be investigated and dealt with by a special governmental board, which would report periodically to parliament on ways and means of safeguarding the maximum civil and personal liberties consistent with efficient planning. Liberty must be planned too, in the world we are entering. If the war is to be won in a spiritual as well as in a military sense such work can not begin too soon. History can supply examples of countries which won wars and lost their domestic freedom at the same time. The effect of the present war upon Canada is to awaken a sense of social responsibility, a desire to serve the state and to face realities, out of which greater national unity and a more secure democracy may be born; but the war also stirs up passions and fears that hamper the free exchange of ideas on which democracy depends, and it gives reactionary elements an opportunity, often under the cover of a "bloodshot patriotism," to prepare the instruments of repression. The greater the number of social controls, the greater the danger of tyranny if they fall into the wrong hands; but the greater also is the opportunity of secure and ordered living if they are infused with a democratic purpose and made answerable to a democratic will.

Wars may be fought either by the methods of dictatorship or by the methods of democracy. Germany is using the former methods; we are attempting to make ourselves equally strong for self-defense without sacrifice of the democratic spirit. In adapting our existing institutions to the needs of defense we shall find that fewer limitations than we now imagine have to be placed on freedom of thought and discussion and more than we imagine on our existing rights of property and our present ways of producing goods. Yet most people will part with their freedom of thought before they will part with their investments, and therein lies our danger. The refusal of the oil producers in British Columbia to obey the law—was it not more subversive of democracy than anything that a harmless religious sect like the Witnesses of Jehovah have done? Yet we have proscribed the latter only. Our interference with intellectual freedom in Canada so far has been greater than our interference with property. Our transition to a democratic planned society is going to be rendered more difficult because we have allowed wealth to accumulate to a dangerous degree, and from the owners of that wealth are bound to come most of the ideas and influences opposed to the changes we must undergo. Yet if we are to hold our own in the present world we must acquire the efficiency and

strength that can come from the coördination of economic resources, and the ordered utilization of our productive capacity. We must plan as intelligently as our rivals, but more democratically.

Social Planning for Canada dealt very fully with the problem of how to keep a planned society democratic. But the planning under consideration there was for the peacetime purposes of social reconstruction, and the book presupposed a "people's party," fully representative of farmers, labor and consumers, as the motive power behind the planning. Today we are planning for wartime purposes, with primary emphasis on military organization, and without that kind of a people's party in control. The Liberal party has a majority that justifies it in carrying on as Canada's war government, but even its members must admit that a party which has not held a convention in the past 20 years still has something to learn about democracy. The need for organized thinking about democracy and wartime planning is thus particularly urgent. Here is a field of work, of immediate practical use for the attainment of the end for which the war is being fought, in which governments, the universities and other responsible bodies could coöperate. Nothing would strengthen this nation more than some official action that would symbolize an advance toward a more democratic social order, not after, but during the war. In war as in peace, democratic ideals can be attained, and a democratic war effort is still the most efficient, the most powerful and the most desirable.

Poem Without Stars

Lifting her lilacs to the golden air,

Giving the birds their flutes and clarinets,
June has not dreamed of horror and despair.

Along a Belgian road, where death besets
Terror fleeing from death, perhaps the sky—
Stricken with pity at the sight—forgets

To summon bird and flower from where they lie,
Bewildered by the strange and ruby rain
And children stopping in their games to die.

But here, June warms her rosebuds; here no stain
Has warned the grass of summer gone amiss;
No bird lies paralyzed with dread and pain.

Fools love each other in a place like this,
Making their own world with a look . . . a kiss.

FREDA MCARTON

Crisis in the Youth Congress

Grace MacInnis

SOME TIME AGO the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A. and the Y.M.H.A. split away from the Montreal Youth Council. Subsequently the Y.M.H.A. and the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. announced that they would not send representatives to the Canadian Youth Congress in Montreal July 5-7. At the conclusion of this meeting the following organizations severed connection with the Congress: Montreal Millinery Union, Greater Winnipeg Young Men's Liberal Association, South Winnipeg Young Liberals' Association, Y.W.C.A. National Board and National Council, Twentieth Century Young Women's Liberal Association of Winnipeg, and Montreal Presbytery Young People's Union, United Church of Canada. In addition, the Student Christian Movement and the Coöperative Commonwealth Youth Movement stated they would reconsider their attitude toward the congress.

The public is still mystified as to the reason for these withdrawals which have reduced the C.Y.C. to a shadow of its former self. To blame the split on this or that group of delegates is merely to evade the issue. Delegates of all dissident organizations were emphatic that in their opinion the congress no longer represents the majority attitude of Canadian youth, many of them making direct reference to the war situation. Basically, responsibility for what happened must rest on congress leaders who allowed certain elements in the congress to bring about major changes in policy—particularly policy in regard to war—since the C.Y.C. met last year in Winnipeg.

As is well known, the congress since its inception in 1936 had put its weight solidly behind the efforts of the democratic nations to halt the spread of aggression. Last year's meeting favored general conscription a) "in the event of direct military attack on Canada" or b) "in the event of Canada's participation with other democratic states in defense against aggressors." On September 26, in conformity with this stand, the national committee of the C.Y.C. issued a statement condemning ruthless Nazi aggression and expressing the belief that until that system is destroyed there can be no peace. Declaring that the policies of the Canadian government "had not at all times given us assurance," the C.Y.C. national committee nevertheless outlined steps which could be taken to strengthen democracy in the struggle against fascist aggression, affirming: "We are eager to be informed of ways and

means by which Canadian youth organizations may be of practical service to the country."

From the outset of this year's congress it became evident that a fundamental change had taken place in policy since the statement of September 26, 1939. Delegates heard with amazement the secretary's report at the opening session. All mention of the war was completely excluded except in so far as it related to civil liberties and economic conditions within Canada. The body which in 1938 had held that a cause of war "lies in the attempted isolation of ourselves as a nation from the world situation" was now being asked completely to evade the gravest problem of our day. Attempted discussion of the report was ruled out by the chairman and, as the originally-planned commission on conscription and war aims had been dropped, there was practically no way for delegates to deal with this astounding reversal of policy.

In an attempt to secure a clear-cut endorsement of the stand taken by former congresses, the following amendment was moved to the report of the democracy and civil liberties commission:

The grave crisis which now confronts Canada, with the British Commonwealth and other nations, has awakened in all citizens a consciousness of their responsibilities. Youth in particular is anxious and willing to discharge its duty to the full in support of the war against nazism and fascism, recognizing that a victory for the totalitarian forces would mean the complete destruction of all liberty and democracy.

At the same time we believe that military victory alone will not suffice to achieve the ends for which youth stands. Simultaneously with proper measures designed to win the war we must preserve democracy at home and lay the foundation for a lasting peace.

It will be noted that this statement is neither jingoistic nor sectarian. It was moved as an addition to the report and not in substitution of any part of it. It left intact the criticisms levelled against the government and permitted complete freedom to individuals and groups to determine Canada's best contribution to the war. It was intended merely to place the congress unequivocally on record as continuing to support the war against totalitarian aggression and was in every way consistent with congress policy up to October of last year. The defeat of this amendment was the immediate cause of the wholesale withdrawals.

Provision should have been made by congress leaders to deal directly with this most urgent issue.

Shelving the commission on conscription and war aims did not cut off discussion on these topics. But the endeavor to keep the congress together by avoiding a stand on them could not but defeat its own purpose. As in former years, delegates expected the congress to give a lead to youth organizations. On many immediate problems concerning the conditions of young people the 1940 reports do contain valuable proposals round which the majority of Canadian youth can be united. But when it became certain that the most vital issue was going to be dodged entirely, delegates were convinced that the congress no longer represented Canadian youth as a whole.

After midnight on the last day of the congress the credentials committee reported that 193 organizations were represented with an aggregate of 274 delegates. The Winnipeg congress last year had 289 organizations and 362 delegates. Lest a comparison seem unfair, owing to the more central nature of Winnipeg, the 1938 congress, held in Toronto, will serve instead. It recorded 565 delegates. The number of organizations is not totalled, but an analysis shows a much wider range of youth representation than was the case this year. More than two-thirds of this year's delegates came from the two eastern cities, Montreal and Toronto. The most notable change this year, compared with both 1938 and 1939, was the big drop in the number of delegates representing church, trade union, political and ethnic organizations and the relative increase in those classified as miscellaneous — in many cases purely local groups. The charge that the congress no longer represents the majority of Canadian youth would appear to be based solidly on fact.

It is significant that the American Youth Congress is passing through a parallel crisis. Within the past six months these organizations have broken from it: Young People's League of the United Synagogues; Student Peace Service; Junior Hadassah; Young People's Socialist League; Young Judea; Fellowship of Reconciliation; National Council of Methodist Youth; the Coöp League; the Youth Committee Against War; the Unitarians; the Congregationalists; Baptists and others. Coöperating organizations, never formally affiliated, have turned away; Farmers' Union, Workmen's Circle, Young Poale Zion, Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, Avukah, National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples and the Presbyterian groups.

In two articles, (July 6, 13), the American New Leader staff correspondent, Daniel Bell, analyzes the recent history of the American Youth Congress and shows how it explains these mass withdrawals. One of his examples will show the trend: On

September 28, 1939, Joe Cadden, member of the Young Communist League and member of the A.Y.C. staff, read to the cabinet a letter the office had sent President Roosevelt urging the repeal of the arms embargo in vigorous terms. This letter was in line with the A.Y.C. policy. Then came the change in Communist party foreign policy and on October 7, 1939, Joe Cadden moved to abandon the drive for the repeal of the embargo. The vote at the assembly was 16 to 9, with eight refusing to vote on the grounds that the assembly had no right to change a convention decision. Shortly after that the first withdrawals started. Mr. Bell adduces proof that the A.Y.C. is now controlled by and in the interests of an organization whose policy both domestic and foreign, is dependent upon the turn of Soviet foreign policy. American youth organizations want a congress whose conceptions of youth's needs grow from American soil and whose policies are framed to meet those needs.

The points of similarity in the American and Canadian Youth Congress crises are too striking to be overlooked. In both cases there is a straightforward adherence to a policy of collective security up until October 1939. Then there is the abrupt reversal of policy by congress officials with the consequent withdrawal of organizations who insist on remaining steadfast to the principles on which the congress was founded. If the Canadian Youth Congress desires to regain and hold the confidence of Canadian youth organizations it must free itself from the type of influence which has already so drastically reduced the usefulness of both American and Canadian Youth Congresses. Only by facing up to the question of the war and the grave problems arising from it, only by making the congress a thoroughly representative and democratic body, can the Canadian Youth Congress hope to give the lead to Canadian youth.

Nocturnal

Swoop the birds down in their trees,
Stop the merry-go-round, the sugar-candy mixer,
Relax arm and leg and head, let the night drop its
curtain

Down the streets where the moths hive the street-
lights,
Let the wind blow, sing, steal into, circle round,
And let us pretend

For a minute, for an hour, for several hours,
That hate, that anger and violence,
Hunger and pain, hiding and revenge
Are gone forever.

RAYMOND SOUSTER

Big Business in the Saddle

David Lewis

THE MANNER OF the capitulation of France and the introduction of semi-fascism which has already followed the surrender have, in my opinion, still further clarified the issues and sides in this war. Every one of the countries already over-run by Germany was, in the first place, defeated by the fascist forces within. To keep these countries in subjugation Hitler has not required huge armies of occupation. Native big business is doing the job for him. The events of the past two months have made urgently clear that a military victory by Hitler over any country means also a victory for the forces of reaction and fascism inside that country. The people of the countries fighting Hitler have ranged against them not only the military might of Hitler's Germany, but also powerful sections of their own ruling classes.

It was a recognition of this basic fact which motivated the British Labor party to join the Churchill government. A realization of the same fact must make the people of Canada increasingly vigilant as to the manner in which our war effort is being conducted and increasingly suspicious of the way in which effective control of that effort has been placed in the hands of big business.

On Monday, July 8, the prime minister boasted to parliament of the large number of "best men" which the government has drafted to direct and control the production of war supplies and the conduct of the war effort generally. He placed an exhaustive list of these men on Hansard. The list reads like a supplement to the *Financial Post Survey of Corporate Securities*. Since it covers several pages of *Hansard*, it is not possible to reproduce it here. A few examples will suffice to illustrate what is happening. In the defense departments are such "best men" as the vice-president of the Imperial Tobacco Co. of Canada; the president and general manager of Fraser Companies Ltd., Montreal; the president of Campbell & Shepherd Ltd., construction engineers, Toronto; the president of Barclay's Bank; the assistant general manager of the National Trust Company; a director of Cockfield, Brown & Company, Toronto; and a director of Robert Simpson Company, Toronto.

The list covering appointments under the department of munitions and supply is really staggering. Some 50 or more big executives were, figuratively, paraded before parliament. Among them are the president of Woodward Stores Ltd.,

Vancouver; the general manager of the Beauharnois Power Corporation (and one of the major *dramatis personae* in the famous Beauharnois scandal); the president of Canadian Breweries Ltd.; a director of Drummond McCall & Co. Ltd., Montreal; the president of Fleet Aircraft Ltd., Fort Erie; a director of W. H. Malkin & Co., B. C. Packers and other companies, Vancouver; the general manager of Imperial Oil Refineries; the president of the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineering Institute (strongly condemned by trade union leaders as anti-labor); a director of the Canadian Bank of Commerce; the chairman of Manitoba Steel Foundries Ltd.; the president of Consolidated Paper Corporation Ltd.; the president of Canada Cement Co. Ltd.; a director of Bell Telephone Co. of Canada; a director of Ogilvie Flour Mills Co. Ltd.; the president of Dominion Textile Co.; the president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association; and the president of the Banque Canadienne Nationale.

The reader should remember that the above are only examples. The complete list contains only one trade union leader, H. B. Chase, Canadian vice-president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. It does not contain a single farm leader with the possible exception of the President of the Co-opératives fédérées of Quebec, who is a member of the dairy board.

With the stories of what happened in the last war still fresh in the memory of many Canadians, with the fact of the big business sit-down strike against the 5½% profit limitation last summer behind us and the horrifying exposure of sabotage and treachery in European countries before us, it is impossible to allay one's anxiety about the grave danger to Canada's future inherent in our government's policy. What conception have the people listed above of the hopes for a new world, of the changes being wrought in the social structure everywhere, of the need for planning the war effort in terms of these changes both for the present and the future? Speaking in the debate which followed the prime minister's statement, Mr. M. J. Coldwell (acting C.C.F. leader) drew brief attention to this problem and made the following telling observation:

I listened with attention to the long list of distinguished persons to whom the prime minister referred as members of various war boards and committees. As I listened I thought of the new act to mobilize industry and manpower for our

war effort, and I thought there was danger that the question before us might be, not that of the government mobilizing industry, but that of industry controlling the government when the war ends.

The mobilization act provides another example of this trend in government policy. It was also a striking example of the shameful demagoguery which the prime minister has employed on several occasions in an attempt to cut short debate and criticism in parliament. He introduced the Mobilization bill on Tuesday, June 18, and suggested that it be passed through all its stages the same day as was done with a similar measure in the British parliament. Throughout the debate he stressed the urgency of passing the bill with a minimum of delay. He scolded the opposition, particularly the C.C.F., for delaying its passage by insisting on full discussion and moving amendments. He stated during the debate on Wednesday, June 19 (*Hansard*, p. 1012) that he wished the bill to pass that afternoon because that evening his cabinet would be meeting and went on to say, with resounding pomposity, "I cannot be responsible for what may happen tomorrow or for the need there may be for this measure tomorrow. I say to the House at the moment that I wish very much I had some powers under this measure now with respect to some action that I should like to take this very afternoon."

These lines are being written exactly four weeks after the Mobilization bill was introduced in parliament and three and a half weeks after it became law. To date exactly two orders-in-council have been issued under the act — both tabled in the last few days and both dealing with the registration of man-power. Unless Mr. King later discarded some urgent measures which he had intended while the bill was before parliament, he was guilty of the most irresponsible behavior possible on the part of a prime minister when dealing with so sweeping a measure as the Mobilization bill. That kind of political play-acting is what undermines democratic institutions.

The C.C.F. group in parliament warned at the time that the mobilization would be applied to man-power only. Its warnings have unhappily been justified. Big business sits securely in the saddle and the destiny of Canada has been placed even more firmly in its hands. Unfortunately the political and economic organizations of the Canadian people are not yet strong enough to wrest this power from big business. The lesson is clear and urgent.

AUGUST, 1940

Civil Liberties

THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE on revision of the Defense of Canada regulations has not yet submitted its final report; civil liberties organizations in Toronto, Montreal and Winnipeg sent representatives to appear before it, seeking modification. Meanwhile the number of prosecutions under the regulations for what appears to be chance remarks are on the increase. Civil liberties groups are stressing the difference between "chance" antiwar statements and "persistent" antiwar propaganda, as conducted by some individuals and organizations, and deplore the large number of prosecutions and heavy penalties arising from beer parlor arguments and bad temper. Newspaper accounts no longer give details of offences committed, and are far from comprehensive. However the following cases are noted: Wm. Green, a Liverpool sailor, was given six months in Campbellton, N.B., for vagrancy which "hinged closely on defeatist or fifth column activities." A Toronto lake captain was jailed for a month in Montreal for repeating false rumors. In Cornwall a Toronto soap salesman was dismissed on suspicion of belonging to an outlawed party, with a warning from the magistrate that police should keep an eye on him. In Toronto a great war veteran was likewise dismissed with a warning to be more careful what he said in public, while a young Torontonian was given 10 days in Tweed for making subversive remarks when he got excited in an argument. A naturalized Hungarian has been arrested in Welland for making treasonable remarks. A Winnipeg court imposed \$100 or three months for an unspecified offence, and six months at hard labor was similarly meted out to a resident of Carman, Man. A 62 year old woman received a sentence of a month's hard labor because "the talk of an old woman could be just as dangerous as the talk of anyone." Calgary records another sentence of three months at hard labor for statements likely to cause disaffection. ¶Jehovah's Witnesses were declared illegal early in July because, as Mr. King explained, they refused to obey man-made laws. The largest number of raids and arrests have been directed against members of this sect. Two Montreal women and two men are serving six months in Campbellton, N.B., for distributing Witness literature, allegedly subversive. The magistrate advised internment after their release. A raid on a Montreal store netted 38,000 pamphlets, and loudspeaker equipment. Tech-nocracy Inc., banned because they advocated overthrow of the government and constitution by force, were subject to raids at numerous B.C. points and tons of records and documents seized. No arrests were made. ¶Two American "socialist" papers have been added to the banned list: "Labor Power" and "Weekly People." ¶Hon. Dr. Bruce now takes second place to Alice in Wonderland's Queen of Hearts—"chop off their heads." He wants the Canadian Youth Congress declared illegal. ¶Labor unions from coast to coast are protesting the internment of J.A. Sullivan, president of the Seamen's Union, on undisclosed charges. ¶On appeal of the Binder case, Louis Binder and Roy Saunders were released because of lack of evidence, but were immediately interned. Harry's conviction was sustained. ¶Residents of King township sleep better these nights since 1,100 Fenian raid muzzle-loaders have been removed from Sir Henry Pellatt's barn and brought to Toronto armories for fear they would fall into the hands of fifth columnists!

War on the Cultural Front

Northrop Frye

THREE ECONOMIC SYSTEMS, nazism, communism and capitalism, are engaged in destroying a) each other b) what they originally stood for. Nazism, in origin a frantic nationalism, is now an international armed force attempting world conquest, its vanguard a rabble of reactionary big shots in each country ready to act as traitors to the latter. Communism, at one time completely international in outlook, has become a patriotic national movement wherever it has had any real power or influence: in Spain, in Czechoslovakia, in China, in India and of course in Russia. The capitalist imperialisms of Britain and America are committed to the defense of small independent nations. In the meantime the word "democracy" wanders through books, magazines, newspapers and speeches undefined and untranslated.

We think of democracy in various ways: as the safeguarding of civil liberties, tolerance of labor unions, permission to curse the government, a bulwark of eccentricity and relaxation from the herd, retention of 19th century parliamentary machinery, sabotage of would-be dictators, supremacy of civil over military power, or as a loose aggregate of all these things. In gloomier moments we suspect that it is only a sentimental *ersatz* religion, or an excuse for yammering in enlightened magazines, or, worst of all, only a word, used as a pretext by the traitorous rabble mentioned above to destroy everything we have just listed.

The source of this confusion seems to be that we think of democracy as a political theory. But a political theory without an economic context is only newspaper blah, and if democracy implies the economic context of capitalism the socialists engaged in its defense are rather muddled. It is easy to say that they are, but too simple. A better explanation is that democracy is not primarily a political theory at all, but something rooted in the broader and deeper concepts of culture and civilization.

This something broader and deeper neither nazism nor communism possesses. Both of these systems are at once political and economic structures, each is based on a social dialectic and each *weltanschauung* (that word has to come in somewhere) is a series of inferences from certain basic premises. Both are essentially synthetic or religious modes of thought, both, that is, are efforts of an organized social will to compel human life and science to fit a certain pattern of ideas. That is not what I mean by a religion, but it is what I mean

by a religious mode of thought. Both being state religions without gods, neither can accommodate ideas in philosophy, discoveries in science or works of art inconsistent with their immediate political ambitions, whether they are, in the language of the Defense of Canada Regulations (based on identical postulates) "false or otherwise". All such work must meet the very narrow pragmatic test of its usefulness to the state at that moment: otherwise the social organisms of Germany and Russia can no more absorb it than a baby can absorb coal oil.

Marxism, for instance, has made little if any attempt to incorporate Spengler's irrefutable proof of the existence of organic culture-growths, or the researches of Freud and Jung into the subconscious, or the great strides made by anthropology and related studies since 1900. Its most striking failure, however, is its childish attitude to religion: it has not recognized itself as a religious movement complete with bible, church, heretics, apostles, saints, martyrs and shrines; it failed to see that the bourgeois reaction to it would form the rival religion of nazism, and it considers any religious phenomenon essentially explained when glibly transposed into economic terms. As for nazism, the delirious absurdity of its race theory needs no italics. Of course the Nazis know that Jew- and Red-baiting arouse far more sneaking sympathy than contempt in a country like Canada, but their "Nordic" fantasies have no such propagandic value.

Democracy is in essence a cultural *laissez faire*, an encouragement of private enterprise in art, scholarship and science. The list of people tortured or banished by Hitler includes Jews, catholics, protestants, freemasons, homosexuals and sponsors of rival brands of nazism like Strasser. No one can be equally sympathetic with all these groups, but in the last century English culture has received contributions from Jews (Disraeli) catholics (Newman) protestants (Browning) freemasons (Burns) homosexuals (Wilde) and spokesmen of a potential English nazism (Carlyle). Obviously there has been considerable anarchy in English culture, a hopelessly inconsistent inclusiveness about it, and that large inconsistency is the basis of democracy. For it implies the acceptance and practice of the scientific attitude on the part of the people as a whole: the inductive suspending of judgment until enough, not only of facts and discoveries and techniques, but of viewpoints and theories and gospels and quack panaceas, are in, before changing the direction of social development. Opposed to this is the crusading religious temperament of the dictatorships working with a partial and premature cultural synthesis. Out of this inclusiveness of outlook springs everything else we associate with



THE HAIR CUT

KATHLEEN DALY PEPPER

AUGUST, 1940

democracy, and it is on that basis that democratic countries rest their claim to be more highly civilized.

What is true of science and scholarship is of course true of the arts. The dictator is less dependent on popular opinion than the democratic leader and is therefore far more dependent on popular prejudice: it is not Churchill or Roosevelt but Mussolini who must pose for cameras and kiss the shuddering babies and generally advertise himself like a toothpaste to retain public favor. Similarly the art which emerges under the cultural anarchy of democracy may be subtle, obscure, highbrow and experimental, and if a good deal of art at any time is not so the cultural achievement of the country is on a Woolworth level. But art under dictatorship seldom dares to be anything but mediocre and obvious. This is least true of music, for music is difficult to censor, and may well be the entering wedge of civilization in the two leading dictatorships. But crude, gaudy realism of painting and pompous brokendown classicism of architecture in both countries had been foreshadowing the Soviet-Nazi pact for years.

The notion that democracy depends on economic rather than cultural *laissez faire* has made a good many people rather confused about it and inclined to believe that it is nothing but a rationalizing of oligarchy. This idea is sedulously fostered by Nazi propagandists. Another source of confusion lies in the division between national and international loyalties, which, as we said at the beginning, is the underlying paradox of this whole conflict. Common to all three systems is the tendency to worldwide expansion we generally call imperialism: common to all three also is an intense, if sometimes vicarious patriotism. Whichever way we look, that conflict of sympathies confronts us. Everyone wants a worldwide *Zollverein* — even a community of old ladies drinking tea needs a merchant navy to bring the tea — and everyone wants to see the farce of anarchic national sovereignty and desperate national self-sufficiency brought to an end. How can we do that by propping up Poland again? And yet the highest culture seems to require some kind of decentralizing. Music and science are international, but literature depends on language and painting on locality: we shall always want the flavor of the region in these arts, just as we shall always want it in wine or in cheese, in glass or in linen. But is this worth so much blood and misery?

A worldwide economy will emerge, whoever wins or loses the war — the human race is trying to evolve a digestive system, and will doubtless succeed. But it should be an unobtrusive and

automatic digestive system, like the individual's. Being developed by states, however, it is necessarily accompanied by the phenomenon of expanding world-states. Now the state has been well named Leviathan, for it is a primitive and barbarous form of the community just as the dinosaur is a primitive and barbarous form of life. It cannot survive without a small group of exploiters and a mass of victims. The bigger it gets, the greater the mass of victims and the more force necessary to hold them down. A world-state would be therefore a handful of dictators, backed up by huge armies of Praetorian guards ready to supply more when they die, ruling over vast slave populations. After criticism had been clubbed, reform machine-gunned, art degraded to the poster and the circus, religion to caesar-worship, science to engineering, the surviving slaves would be well fed and clothed, and nothing could overthrow such a state but an invasion from Mars. The analogy between insect-states and those of slightly dazed human beings has often been noted. In the present war it is our business to disintegrate and disorganize this world-state *whatever else happens*. Our most powerful allies are not America and Turkey, but the war itself and the famine, starvation, plague and anarchy which accompany it. We should not look for a dynamic ethic to fight the dictators with: confronted with their entomological logic we stand for nothing but absolute nihilism, absolute denial. We dream of no reestablished *status quo*: we look for nothing further than destruction.

Indifference

By night the long grass blew,
And where, above the height, the stars were few,
We did not mark
The gathering cloud, the dark beyond the dark,
Seeing no worlds beyond the world we knew.
By day the poppies flared,
And in the fields the grass was golden-haired;
We did not mark, or see
Which bird it was that sang exquisitely,
Sensing no bliss beyond the bliss we shared.
Now time nor tide perceives
The light low mound beneath the fallow leaves
Wherein you sleep;
The things we loved so neither mourn nor weep,
And birds forget you, twittering in the eaves.

R. H. GRENVILLE

THE CANADIAN FORUM

Correspondence

Graham McInnes, Editorial Associate, New World, writes: "As a Canadian monthly of twenty years standing, we rather expected THE CANADIAN FORUM to give its young contemporary NEW WORLD an avuncular pat on the head. Being conscious of our own shortcomings, we didn't expect orchids; especially from a periodical noted for its critical examination of Canadian institutions both new and old. But we thought that if THE CANADIAN FORUM did go out of its way to comment on our arrival, it would give a balanced appraisal of both our virtues and our vices.

"We were therefore somewhat pained to find your first editorial notice of NEW WORLD couched in terms of supercilious disdain. You spoke of us as a 'dime monthly.' Well, of course, we are; but the term had overtones of lofty contempt. Perhaps, like THE CANADIAN FORUM, we should have been a 25 cent monthly; but, as you will know, people just don't read 25 cent monthlies. And we feel it is better to make certain compromises, and put over perhaps 75 per cent of our message of Canadianism to scores of thousands of people, than to make no compromise, and restrict our message to some hundreds of the converted. That, I suppose, is a matter of opinion; but I would guess the average Canadian would regard us as having brought, to a very wide audience, a reportorial view of at least as many aspects of Canadian life as has THE CANADIAN FORUM.

"The editorial went on to say that we were 'not fascist, but simply very much of the Old World, obsequious to the advertising kingdom.' That is an obligation from which THE CANADIAN FORUM is luckily free. The position really amounts to this: that NEW WORLD has to make its way—in other words, to sell itself to the public. That again is an obligation from which THE CANADIAN FORUM is free. Granted the fact that we do have to trim our sails to the wind, I think no fair-minded analyst would deny that we are doing, on the whole, as educational and entertaining a job on the Canadian scene as any other magazine so placed. Your editorial writer even admitted that 'intelligent features' were being written by Mrs. Ross, Mr. Callaghan and myself. From an intellectual monthly this is praise for which we are grateful. You might have added too, that our standards are those of professional journalism.

"However, we would have been glad to let all that pass; but in your July issue, Mr. John Fairfax goes out of his way to take another crack at us, and we begin to wonder in just what our offence lies. Let's examine what Mr. Fairfax says. We 'slavishly copy' sister publications in the U.S. But do we? Canada, as THE CANADIAN FORUM has often insisted, is a part of North America. Our job is to report Canada in picture and story. If, in so doing, we appear close to the U.S. it is because Canadian life is close to that of the U.S. If we concentrated entirely on French Canada and the Pre-Cambrian Shield (the only things not held in common by Canada and the U.S.) we would doubtless satisfy Mr. Fairfax. But we wouldn't be doing a good reporting job on Canada. And in doing that reporting job, minor differences between the two nations emerge as a matter of course. The factual criticisms made by Mr. Fairfax he will find, on examining our recent issues, to have been met. They were inherent in the getting under way of any new enterprise, as Mr. Fairfax must realize.

"There remains one criticism which is well taken: that

our foreign correspondents are not Canadians and that we may therefore be prone to see the outside world through non-Canadian eyes. But on the whole, Mr. Fairfax's criticism shows him to be as much a victim of the colonial viewpoint as he claims us to be. He cannot assess any Canadian literary effort without putting the question, 'Is it really Canadian?' before 'Is it really good literature?' If it is good literature it will be good Canadian literature as a matter of course. It's this straining to be 'Canadian' that ruins so much of our potentially good writing.

"The most worthwhile job that any periodical can do at the present time is, in the words of Gilles Desroches, 'mieux faire connaître le Canada aux Canadiens'—to make Canada better known to Canadians. That is what we believe we are doing. Is THE CANADIAN FORUM doing half as much?"

R. E. K. Pemberton, author of "The C.C.F., the Election and the Future" in our May issue writes: "My recent suggestions regarding C.C.F. policy in relation to the war and to the middle class have elicited certain criticisms to which I hope you will allow me space to advert.

"I resent Mr. Lewis' implication that my attitude to the C.C.F. war-policy is 'questionable in principle and shortsighted politically.' On the contrary, the position I took was, and is, that the C.C.F., having officially declared its support for the war against Hitlerism, should show a little more enthusiasm for the war against Hitlerism. This would be at once sound principle and good politics. Nor does this mean, as your editorial writer supposes, 'whooping it up for the government which is conducting the war,' or promoting a mass military effort by Canada. On the contrary, there has been ground for criticisms of the government's conduct of the war, and some of these criticisms have been made by the C.C.F.: They would gain in force if the party balanced its criticism of the government's conduct of the war by showing a little more enthusiasm for the winning of the war. This does not in the least mean a mass military effort. There is no likelihood whatever that Canada's military effort, however efficient, could turn the scale; her effort should be concentrated chiefly on a greatly increased production. Nor do I understand the same writer's reference to the British Labor party. It seems to me an incorrect characterization of that party's attitude up to the date when the editorial in question was written. More recent events surely confirm that impression. Lastly, Mr. Lewis' suggestion that I wish the C.C.F. 'to compete with the old parties in patriotism and imperialism' is wholly misdirected. As to patriotism, I do think that the C.C.F. might make more use of the word, to the considerable advantage both of the C.C.F. and of essential patriotism. As to imperialism, I have publicly suggested that one of our major peace aims should be its supersession; indeed, I am one, I believe, of very few Canadian individuals who have done so in print since the war began.

"Turning to the problem of the middle class, I am indeed surprised to find that I appear to Mr. Lewis as a 'doctrinaire,' as seeking 'elaborate theoretical explanations' and 'perfect theoretical approaches.' I defy Mr. Lewis himself to read my article again and find in it any justification for these expressions. Nor is there in it any suggestion that the C.C.F. is 'too working-class.' I believe whole-heartedly that the C.C.F. is and should be the party of the working-class—and of the

middle class. It cannot be too much of either—except in so far as it stresses its interest in either at the expense of concern for the other—as it has done hitherto.

"I am fully in accord with Mr. Lewis upon the need for more organization. But I would suggest that it is impossible to organize people who will not come out into the open, as long as they will not come out into the open. There are, Heaven knows how many C.C.F. voters who are not out in the open. There is also a huge body of potential voters who as yet vote Liberal or Conservative. There are many reasons why people are not coming out into the open. One of them is the idea that the C.C.F. is 'too working-class' . . . and this influences a great many middle class people. Certain modifications of C.C.F. propaganda, chiefly in the form of additions, would win over a great many of these. By far the greatest obstacle to the conquest of the middle class is the impression, widespread among them, that there is some affinity, or more, between the C.C.F. and the Communists. This impression it would be easy to kill—were not the party, for totally insufficient reasons, afraid to meet the issue aggressively. And this in spite of the fact that, politically speaking, the present situation is, beyond expectation, ideal for the purpose."

Secret

I chose the red roan filly—
Mane like a streaming fire,
And flanks were bright and silken,
Swift thighs could never tire.

The roan filly bore me
By a starlit, lonely track;
She knew the path to TirnanOg—
To TirnanOg, and back.

What ride we rode—gay canter,
Sure trot, mad gallop till day—
I know, who kept the saddle;
I know, but must not say.

UI BRIUIN

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O CANADA!

J. F. Pouliot (Liberal, Temiscouata) last night proposed that all divorced men should be conscripted first and all divorced women should be made to work in canteens making soup.

(Toronto Star, July 15)

Most amazing characteristics of these English (refugee) children is the calmness with which they face life in a new land . . . all a reporter needed to do was to ask, "Where's so and so?" and a dozen pair of little legs, belonging to a lord or anyone else, were immediately at his service.

(Toronto Star, July 6)

"God cannot work alone. God must work with us. Let it be said that every Canadian soldier has in his hand a gun and in his heart a prayer."

(Army chaplain quoted in Victoria Times, June 24)

"In my opinion there should be more bands, more martial music, more parades and more flag-flying. Our soldiers should not be allowed to depart in the dark as if they were under a cloud."

(Mr. D. K. Hazen, St. John-Albert, from Hansard, June 28)

The order of the (drumhead) service included . . . present of replica of Magna Carta to Canadian Legion by Hon. G. D. Conant.

(Oshawa Times, June 16)

Mr. Hanson said a large group of people in the medium-income group whose incomes are derived from trust funds and invested capital would have a difficult time to maintain their accustomed standard of living. He told of one man whose immediate reaction to the increased tax was that he would have to dismiss his chauffeur.

(Toronto Globe and Mail, July 9)

Ballet skirts are being turned into bandages in London . . . and what wounded soldier wouldn't get a thrill out of being wrapped up in what was once the attire of a whirling lady of the dance.

(From "Over the Teacups," Toronto Star, July 10)

No married man in Montreal can have a net annual income of over \$60,000 after income taxes, regardless of the amount of his gross income. If his gross income exceeds \$802,000 annually, his income taxes will outweigh his income. In other words, a married man with no children or dependents, who is earning \$850 a year in Montreal is better off than one earning \$850,000.

(From the June issue of Canadian Business)

Mr. Jones asked if chewing of tobacco was an offense in the school. Hon. Mr. McGuigan (minister of education) said that pupils have no right to chew tobacco, that this is a matter of management.

(From the report of proceedings in the legislative assembly of Prince Edward Island, during discussion of a new school act, as reported in the Charlottetown Patriot)

This month's prize of \$1 or a 6 months' subscription goes to Eileen H. Troup, Toronto. All contributions should contain original clipping, the date and name of publication from which it is taken.

THE CANADIAN FORUM

A Thread Not Lost

Don Murray

HE WOULD NOT have been gazing so absorbedly if the sight—a common enough sight these days: that of men in khaki—had not momentarily found for itself, somewhere in his mind, a mysterious special significance. From his seat here in the grass on the bank he could see the two soldiers dawdle in an unmilitary way toward the side of the bridge and then lean over the black iron handrailing and spit meditatively into the shadowed stream below.

His fishing-line swirled toward the still depths of the pool, where waterlogged branches awaited his hook; a flip of his wrist flicked the line backward above his head and then out again across the sparkling current. What was so perplexing about the sight of those soldiers? It would have been an unexpected sight this time last year, and rightly puzzling; but nowadays any child would be able to tell you that the men, or boys rather, were simply a couple of members of the West Nova Scotia Regiment, home on leave. Until not long ago they had been youngsters helping on their fathers' farms, or perhaps garage apprentices in town. Then one night a special dance had been got up for them—with round and square sets and a free lunch—because they were to leave for camp the next day Now they were back home briefly, in uniformed excitement, to say their final goodbyes. That would be their whole story. Why should seeing them up there on the bridge awaken this strange feeling in him?

A horse and buggy rumbled thunderously over the planking of the bridge, knocking dust and chips from between the boards to the stream beneath, then rattled away past the bushes at the bend. One of the soldiers tossed his cigaret butt to the water and it bobbed downstream, a little patch of white. The other soldier made the lower bridgerail clank ironically with the toe of his boot. Then they both straightened, adjusted their uniform caps and walked away, with the dust rising in little swirls round their feet.

Today had been a day with high scattered silver clouds, and their shadows scudding on the sunny grass. All afternoon the beds of dandelions had throbbled yellow before his eyes in the sunwarmth. He dug his hand now into the cool earth beside him, and beat his heels against the red mud of the bank. He swung his fishingpole upward and let the empty hook at the end of the dripping line drop back to his grasp, then proceeded to bait the hook with a fresh worm from the old baking-

powder can. His hands felt parched, being covered with caked mud and the dried slime of worms and trout, but he loved the sensation because it was one that had always been associated with his warm, idle, barefoot fishing days here. Like the soothing effect on his nerves of the all-day-long intimate buzzing and whickering of the insects, this parched feeling of his hands helped to make any moment spent here fishing join itself in a strange continuity with the many similar moments of other summers: today, now, seemed exactly the same as the old days of his boyhood, except that what had then filled his mind as being in the future was now in the past, as a dim unreal interlude, and what alone stood out as real in his life was this present moment and those other moments when he had been ten or eleven or twelve years old. And so it had just now seemed—that was it!—as if those soldiers up on the bridge must, as grown-ups, be much older than he; and this impression clashed with his consciousness that in reality they must be a good dozen years younger.

There had been another such summer day as this, years ago, when the boy who was reliving in him now had seen other men in khaki on the same bridge doing much the same things.

The years intervening were telescoped, and this hour and a boyhood hour were touching The state of his mind began to disturb him creepily, and so he tried to think of his grownupness, and his littered desk in town, and the slow years of his progress as they trudged hand-in-hand, dressed in their stale faded garments of work and worry. He tried to think of Rotary, and the campaign for cocoa for the children in the schools, and his civic improvement activities. But all those things belonged to a past that seemed far more distant than the past that was enveloping him now.

How he had loved every blade of grass, on those old sunny days, and every little stumbling burdened ant, and every bee foraging in a flower, and the feel of rattly wet gravel underfoot, and the amber coolness of the pool under the willow

Shortly, while the evening verged on twilight, he began to anticipate the scent of cooled earth and dew and the vague sight of bats swooping beneath the willow and the sound of distant frog-fluting and was there wood-smoke from somewhere ? His adulthood fell away from him altogether; and he was thinking of how he might be late to the post office again tonight, and miss having the mail-time crowd to talk to. Petey would be there now, and the other kids. Petey would be squirming round in the corner—on one foot, with his other foot grasped in his hand behind him—saying crazy things to the others, or making pencil-marks on the fish and game laws

sign on the wall. The newspapers and letters would be plunking like magic into the numbered glass-fronted boxes, and the old gentlemen would be taking out their keys so that they could get at their papers and read them and then talk about old Hindenburg and the Kaiser and all that stuff. Gosh, the Germans were hateful! And all the guys could think of swell things to do to them if they ever tried coming round here. Petey was the best for thinking of things, like a big rat-trap on every finger, and so on Then when the mail was all sorted there would be the walk down the sidewalk, and one guy would run up behind another and poke him in the pants and then run back laughing. You would smack each telephone-pole you passed with the folded-up newspaper, while you gave Petey a description of the thirteen-inch trout . . .

The breeze, brisker now, was thinning out the last remnants of the day's heat. The sky was red and saffron up over Ferguson's grey barn. Something jerked at the fishing-line. He pulled in a trout, removed it from the hook, broke its neck with one quick snap, and slid one of its gills over a prong of his fish-laden forked stick. He picked up a dried piece of bread-crust he had left in the grass and threw it on the water. Lowering himself over the edge of the bank, he let his feet thud on the sandy moist stream-side ground. He bent over and washed his clammy hands in the water, then took out his handkerchief and dried them. After climbing back to the grass, he knelt and picked up his fish, his fishing-pole, and his boots. He would carry his boots to the roadside, because he liked the feel of his feet in the grass. He straightened and glanced briefly toward the bridge as a big car roared roughly over it and flashed away round the bend. Remembering his cap, he picked it up and clumsily put it on his head. He would have looked fine without that! He pulled the top from a dandelion with his toes, tossed it up with a kick and tried to catch it in his mouth, but it fell short. The after-glow had almost faded into dusk now. He was sorry to see this day ending, because tomorrow his leave would be over and he would have to be going back to his regiment.

Airplanes in the Evening

There hums a plane
far in the peaceful grey,
one with the gulls that curve on the river,
one with wings and pulsing throat,
one with throbbing freedom and scorn of earth,
one with the winding sheet of clouds.

Alone with hissing death in its entrails.

DOROTHY TRAIL

The Anthology Racket

Helen Hastings

CANADIANS WHO COMPLAIN loudly of the paucity of the national poetry market, although they are certainly justified in doing so, might do well to consider that from one point of view its very limitation is a safeguard and a desirable thing. A great many far-seeing people in the U.S.A. would be happy to exchange a number of their rhyme-producing machines for more of the integrity that invests the Canadian approach to poetry. The charge of indifference often levelled against us is undoubtedly merited, but it may be said that what interest is displayed here is of a healthy, vigorous nature which keeps our national standard very high. The few Canadian publications engaged in advancing poetry are without exception edited by sincere people making untold sacrifices to keep their magazines in existence. None of them are attempting to live off the proceeds of this work, and to none of them has it occurred that it might be turned into a money-making business. Possibly this is because they are for the most part poets themselves, and tradition does have it that poets are an impractical class.

Fortunately for the peace of mind of the practical classes, a way has now been found to make poetry pay dividends. By means of an extensive sucker list, a clear, cold knowledge of the thrill it gives most people to see their work in print, and a certain amount of money for mailing purposes, a number of American concerns have built themselves up very profitable businesses during the last decade. It is sad that they seem to have in common a certain transient quality, at least if frequent changes of name at unvarying addresses are to be correctly interpreted in that light. This diatribe, be it said, is directed only at the "blue sky" organizations. Anthologies in the hands of scrupulous people are laudable and worthy enterprises, and there are a number of old, established houses in the U.S.A., numbering among their staffs some of the most brilliant and respected names in American literature, which bring out annual anthologies of such a quality that any writer might be proud to have his work included in them. The cheapening process began when imitators took up the anthology idea and turned it into a racket measured in terms of cash rather than by literary standards. The number of anthologies published annually during the last few years in the U.S.A. is astounding, if one may judge by the quantities of literature mailed to this side of the border.

The story runs thus: the poet sees the announce-

ment of a coming anthology—any one—and writes for information. The publishers reply promptly, with a fanfare of propaganda and a cordial invitation to participate. Usually they ask the poet to submit not fewer than ten of his "best" poems—the psychology being, no doubt, that a person might reasonably suppose a great deal of personal attention is to be given his work if time is allotted for the reading of ten poems. No mention of sales is made in the first letter. After a reasonable length of time most of the poems are returned, with the announcement that one, or possibly two, have been accepted and will appear in the forthcoming volume. Sincere congratulations are extended, and the poet is informed that several more anthologies are in the course of preparation and is advised to resubmit his other eight poems when their publication is announced. It is an interesting fact that while the poems are occasionally mentioned by title in the letter—being filled in by typewriter in spaces left blank for the purpose—there is never any individual criticism offered and no reference is ever made to the nature of the content of any of them. If the poet is young and eager, and if he has been brought up on the fallacy that there is no chance for writers in Canada anyhow, he is so delighted and flattered that these details escape him. He is supplied, moreover, with a number of press releases, personal questionnaires and lists of radio stations which, it seems, exist only to provide publicity for the chosen few whose work appears in this particular anthology.

The next step is the announcement that the book has been published, and enclosed with this is an order blank to be filled out and returned at once, along with cash remittance. Reference is sometimes made to "the terms of your agreement," by which the poet is said to have obligated himself to purchase so many copies on publication, although most of the outfits, more cautious, content themselves with the unimpeachable order blank. The prices are considerable, ranging for the most part between four and five dollars. Ignoring of this brings a periodic stream of form letters, beginning with the assumption that surely the original notice must have failed to reach the contributor, and mounting at last to a crescendo of indignation that the guilty person should be so lacking in fair play. "Do you," the publishers query plaintively, "consider that YOU have done YOUR part?" It is a fairly safe bet that at the end of six months or a year the price will have been reduced by two or three dollars "for the limited number of volumes left in stock." Be it noted that the writer, who has no particular conscience in these matters, had no difficulty in purchasing a certain anthology two and a half years after it was issued, at less than one-

third of its original price. The verses in it, without prejudice, were actually no better than are often produced in the mass effort of a junior third public school class during composition period.

One of the amusing aspects of the affair is that once you are placed on a mailing list your fame—or your gullibility—spreads rapidly among all the publishing houses engaged in this work. You are deluged with praise, with suggestions, with order blanks. In each case the publishers have been viewing with admiration your recent rapid improvement, and would like to have the privilege of including you in their proposed anthology of better poets, of enrolling you in their miraculous technique-improving course, of publishing a volume of your poems at trifling cost. And at least one of them is more or less unacquainted with his country's achievements, although his taste is not to be questioned. An exasperated Toronto writer, who shall be nameless on account of suits for plagiarism and such, finally submitted as original work a particularly beautiful poem of Edna St. Vincent Millay's—and has at the present time a letter accepting it for publication! It proved something or other, at least to the satisfaction of the sender. Only the fear of consequences prompted the special delivery letter which went off that same day explaining the "error."

We of Canada, unappreciated though we be, have at least the right to survey our poetry publications with pride—the Crucibles and the Canadian Poetry Magazines, keeping up a brave and desperate fight for life, but never for a moment considering a lowering of the standard—even the good, honest space of the daily press, which is the best market some of our most promising poets can find for their work. From the bottom of what is probably a sadly impractical heart, I pray that our poetry, and most particularly our editors, will keep the ideal unshaken and struggle on. I think it is a fairly general prayer.

Blitzkrieg

(For the Munition Lords)

Polish your "jewels of death,"
The brass and burnished steel;
Adjust the fragile cams,
With dire precision wheel

The fuse of tiny gears—
(A cocksure aim is all!)
The target of a baby's heart
Is delicately small.

GORDON LECLAIRE

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Between Two Wars

THE QUEST FOR PEACE: William E. Rappard; Harvard U.P.; pp. 516; \$4.00 (U.S.).

ARMISTICE 1918-1939: Michael Foot; Oxford (Harraps); pp. 274; \$2.75.

IT IS ONLY BY STUDYING the failure of the last peace settlement that we can get any clear direction for the future. There will be plenty of disagreement as to what that direction is to be—but at least we should all be clear about the facts of the last 25 years. Both these books deal with them; each is very good of its kind and well worth reading.

Professor Rappard, a Swiss writing largely for American readers, is as objective as it is possible to be while remaining interesting. He deals specifically with the growth of the idea of an international authority during the last war, with the birth, growth and decay of the League of Nations, with the various plans and measures taken or attempted to secure peace and international coöperation. Quotations from the original documents abound and, if this book cannot be regarded as light reading, it can be thoroughly recommended for study.

The first chapter, on 'Peace As a War Aim,' traces the birth of the League idea in England, its adoption and development in the United States, and its return to Europe as a full-fledged plan with Woodrow Wilson at the end of the war. It is good for us to remember that during the last war, thinking men and women had hopes of a better world not very different, and rather more sanguine, than our present hopes. We then pass on to the Peace Conference of 1919, considered particularly in the attempt made to establish permanent peace beyond the immediate satisfaction of national ambitions and immediate aims, embittered by four years of war. The conflict between these two aspects of the peace settlement, and the compromises resulting from this conflict, are shown by means of specific instances rather than by a complete discussion of the whole treaty, and the author continues to use this effective method of selection in his review of the next 20 years. He deals with them under three heads: arbitration, collective security and disarmament. We thus get a clear exposition, under each aspect, of the purposes and limitations of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Geneva Protocol, the Locarno treaty, Kellogg pact and the rest. The Aaland Islands question and the Ethiopian war are studied as specific instances of arbitration and collective security in action. In the chapter on disarmament, the parts played by the different countries, reflecting national policies and attitudes, are excellently described and accounted for.

This is a substantial and scholarly work; by wise selection of certain incidents the author strikes a fair balance between being too lengthy and being too sketchy. A careful index makes it easy to return to particular points, and altogether it is a very good piece of work.

"Armistice 1918-1939" deals with the same period, but is very different in tone and purpose. It does not restrict itself to one aspect of the world-drama, but is very rightly described as "a panorama of the hopes and fears, exultations and defeats, tyranny and folly and struggle of the nations between the two great wars." It is a series of quickly moving pictures, remarkably well done,

vigorous, epigrammatic and clear-sighted. If any young men and women—which, politically speaking, means of course anyone under 60—feel like telling the old men who have ruled our democracies since 1918 what they think of them and why, they will delight in this book as I did. "No attempt," the author tells us in his preface, "is made at impartiality in this book. Unbiased historians are as insufferable as the people who profess no politics."

The old men, and all those old in outlook if not in age, should read it too, but they won't, it is too strong meat for them. The very chapter headings will put them off, from the first—Ludendorff's Dream (at Brest-Litovsk)—to the last—Ludendorff's Nightmare. The nightmare, unfortunately, has not come off, largely, as the author believes, because Russia was so ostentatiously ignored at Munich and after. 'Murder by Committee' is a particularly good title for a description of the Chamberlain policy during the Spanish war.

Mr. Foot, who by the way is a parliamentary candidate for the Labor Party, lends himself to quotations by the dozen. A few must here suffice: Stanley Baldwin is "this prophet of somnolence," "he knew the British working man and spoke with feeling against a proposal to limit miners' hours to eight hours a day," and the Trades Disputes Act "marked a notable return to that earlier system, still fully operative in Bewdley, where capitalist and blackleg worked together in unruffled contentment." When Japan invaded Manchuria, "the new conqueror came to Geneva with a bad brief, a big army and a good lawyer" (Sir John Simon.) . . . "It was the gentlemen of Germany who saved Hitler (in 1933) which may explain the admiration which Hitler gained among the gentlemen of other lands during the subsequent six years, despite his humble birth and guttersnipe behavior" . . . "On the 15th of April, Franco reached the sea. On the 16th the Anglo-Italian treaty was initialled in Rome." Finally, rather maliciously: "Altogether it appears that a misunderstanding must have occurred at Munich. It arose not so much because Mr. Chamberlain had trusted Hitler as because Hitler had trusted Mr. Chamberlain. Hitler believed that the east belonged to him by right of the Munich surrender."

G. M. A. GRUBE

Co-operative Action

MASTERS OF THEIR DESTINY: M. M. Coady; Musson (Harpers); pp. 170; \$2.25.

FOR THE PAST NINE YEARS a most important movement of adult education and social rehabilitation has been taking place in eastern Nova Scotia and in Cape Breton island, a movement of such significance that it has attracted increasing attention among educators and social reformers throughout the whole North American continent. It is popularly known as the Antigonish movement, or the coöperative movement of Nova Scotia, and has developed under the direction of the extension department of St. Francis Xavier university.

Many pamphlets and articles are available on various of its aspects and a few years ago a book appeared in the United States, "The Lord Helps Those . . .," by Bertram B. Fowler, giving an enthusiastic account of its spirit and accomplishment. The present book is, however, the first long discussion of the movement by one of its participants,

a man who has been associated with the extension work from the beginning and is now its director.

The Antigonish movement grew from the conjunction of two lines of effort: one of education, the other of social and economic betterment. Some of the original leaders wanted to bring education to the common people; they wanted to make the university function as a center of learning in the life of the community instead of remaining a sort of learned club for the privileged few. Others were primarily concerned with helping the people improve their economic condition.

The people of eastern Nova Scotia were on the whole very poor. Though primary producers of valuable goods—fish, lumber, mineral coal, agricultural products, etc.,—they were helpless before the complex system of manufacturing and exchange that exploited them. Their helplessness was in great part due to their ignorance, their lack of understanding of the enormous complicated machine that preyed on them. This is where education could step in.

A whole pedagogy was gradually developed by the extension department, the aim of which was to give the people an understanding of the economic background of their life. The technique of study is that of the small discussion group, and the subjects studied are the most immediate problems that confront each group. The university furnishes the initial impulse, the necessary guidance, and materials for study in the form of books and pamphlets. With knowledge comes a sense of power and a desire to act. When the discussion groups of the Antigonish movement turned to action, it was nearly always group action: some coöperative undertaking or other that would tend to bring back into the people's hands some of the economic control and power they had formerly abandoned to profit-makers. Very soon, under the leadership of the extension department, credit unions, agencies for coöperative marketing and coöperative buying, coöperatively owned processing plants and lumber mills began to multiply rapidly in this part of Nova Scotia, not only bettering the economic condition of the people but giving them an increased confidence in their own power to improve their fate.

The present book, being written from the inside, gives us more than a mere history of the movement. It helps us to grasp the core of it: its basic principles and its spirit. A general impression of sound thinking and unblinking realism pervades the whole book, coupled with a tremendous faith in man and his power of bettering himself and his environment.

MARCELLE ACHARD ABELL

Canadiens

THE SPIRIT OF FRENCH CANADA: Ian Forbes Fraser; Ryerson (Columbia); pp. 219; \$2.75.

THE AUTHOR has undertaken to consider as broadly as possible the whole field of French Canadian literature in order to show to what extent it reflects or determines the development of a national spirit in French Canada. He has cataloged innumerable quotations under such inevitably commonplace headings as "The History of the Race," "Relations with the Mother Country," "The Role of the Roman Catholic Church," "Traditions of Language," and "The Cult of the Soil." These quotations occupy, unfortunately, the major portion of the book. Unfortunately, because the difficulties of piecing together the contents of one's index cards, in approved thesis fashion,

are increased if one is perpetually skipping from one language to another; and in spite of the resourceful variety of formulae displayed in this book, the result is monotonous and makes dull reading. It would certainly have been better, from the reader's point of view, if the whole thing had been written in French.

More serious, however, is the excessive diffidence of the author, when it comes to anything beyond the most superficial critical appreciation of the ideas he so painstakingly catalogs. To indulge in the more general and universal problems constantly raised by his quotations, is apparently considered as something outside the scope of his subject. This is particularly evident in the section dealing with the Christian and moral aspects of literature. It is not enough for us to know, for instance, that Monseigneur Roy affirms that French Canadian literature, to be national in character, must be pre-eminently Christian. This is all very true, but some critical discussion of Monseigneur Roy's particular conception of what constitutes a Christian literature would seem to be necessary, and would certainly add interest in a work on this subject. Mr. Fraser does present some interesting data for such a discussion in the few pages he devotes to church control of intellectual life, but modestly avoids pressing the matter to the point where it would assume a general and human significance. A literature of pious edification defeats its own end because it fails to present life on a broadly human basis—because it falsifies life, in refusing to face the problem of evil, as a great French Catholic novelist, Francois Mauriac, has said. We know, for instance, that the poetic inspiration of such "pagans" as Baudelaire and Rimbaud is not incompatible with a Catholic and "traditional" viewpoint. And in Canada, one might question the validity of a criticism (Monseigneur Roy's, of course) which places Blanche Lamontagne above René Chopin and Jean Charbonneau.

In the last two pages of his conclusion, Mr. Fraser happily distinguishes between narrow regionalism and nationalism in its highest sense, but this fundamental issue, and its bearing on the future of Canadian literature (French or English) are again, in our opinion, too skimpily dealt with; the very pertinent quotations from Albert Pelletier on the subject might have been enlarged upon with profit.

If, however, we are guilty of demanding that the author transcend limits he has so carefully and deliberately set himself, we cannot help stating that his book is valuable for the problems it suggests, but does not always deal with.

J. G. ANDISON

M Day

MOBILIZING CIVILIAN AMERICA: Harold J. Tobin and Percy W. Bidwell; New York, Council on Foreign Relations; pp. 276; \$2.75.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT of the United States in 1931 created somewhat of a sensation among the more alert citizens of the republic by publishing a detailed plan according to which the resources of the country were to be organized and mobilized in case of another war. The plan received violent criticism from the Nye committee and others as being a full-blooded scheme of American fascism. Since then it has undergone revision, and has been reissued in new forms in 1933, 1936 and finally in its present form (which is printed as an appendix to this book) in 1939. The last edition is a brief document and confines itself mainly to generalities.

This book is concerned with the background and

development of this plan for M day. Messrs. Tobin and Bidwell have written it after long investigations for the American Council on Foreign Relations, an organization which is best known to us in Canada as the publisher of the quarterly *Foreign Affairs*. They have produced a most interesting and timely study, for M day is probably much closer than it seemed even when the book was published. The authors first give a full account of the experience of the United States in the last war, of the difficulties it encountered in raising and equipping its armed forces, in organizing industrial production, in dealing with labor and business, in controlling prices and profits, in managing propaganda and censorship. Then they go on to explain the plans which the military and naval authorities, taking all this experience into account, have been working at ever since. Most of what was achieved in 1917 and 1918 was the result of improvisation. The ordinary citizen hardly knows how much thinking and planning has been done since. This book shows that on all the major issues there are still strong differences of opinion—shall the mobilization of civilian America be under the control of business men or of government officials? Can it be carried out without attacks on civil liberties? Our newspapers will give us during the next few months plenty of the spectacular incidents which will occur during the process of mobilization. This book, by explaining what has been going on in government circles since 1917, is indispensable to help us to understand the newspaper headlines.

FRANK H. UNDERHILL

Red River Settlement

MINE INHERITANCE: Frederick Niven; Collins; pp. 432; \$2.75.

AN HISTORICAL NOVEL of the Red River Settlement, this is a considerable cut above most such works on Canada. Not only the bibliography, but the painstaking care for detail in the writing itself demonstrates an honest and sympathetic talent. While *Mine Inheritance* is cast in the form of a novel, it cannot properly be called fiction for the author tells us in a short foreword that in addition to the people the pattern for the dialogue is drawn from the archives. Appreciating the difficulty of putting blood and sinew into such documents, Mr. Niven must be credited with a most skilful and readable job.

The Red River Settlement was a project authorized and fostered by Lord Selkirk to provide living space for dispossessed Scottish cotters. Under the leadership of Miles Macdonnell, the first governor, these settlers were the pioneer farmers of southern Manitoba. Western farmers today require more than their share of the hardy virtues but these men who first planted the margin of the prairies had to overcome not only the elements but the hostility of the Indians and the murderous jealousy of the fur-traders. The courage, resourcefulness and will to survive of these people, as always, leaves the reader a few cubits less in his own eyes.

A love story, that of the young narrator, accompanies all this, fortunately without interfering with the main events. On the whole *Mine Inheritance* is good reading for those who find their history more digestible in this form.

ELEANOR GODFREY

English Pageant

ENGLAND'S PLEASANT LAND: E. M. Forster; Longmans, Green (Hogarth); pp. 159; \$1.25.

THIS PLAY needs a large open area, preferably rural, for its most effective presentation. As incidental music we might suggest "There'll always be an England," with, in the second scene of Act II, "Home was never like this"; the connotations, however, should be strictly esthetic, not political or domestic.

Mr. Forster's pageant play, which is really a slightly complex Morality in form, is concerned with King Arthur's "The old order changeth...." in the English landscape, but the playwright is evidently unwilling to trust God to fulfil himself in many ways. He clings unnecessarily to the old order forgetting that he himself, in the person of the Recorder, has managed to justify each change after it took place.

In Act I, which deals with the Land Enclosures of the English countryside, Mr. Forster's sympathies appear to be with the peasants. He shows the causes of the enclosures and their results in the Laborers' Revolt of 1830. By the time Act II takes place the grievances of the farmers have been faded by time and toil, and a smug relationship exists between the paternal landlord and the tenant who knows his place and licks boots to stay there. The estates are bought up by land improvers to pay for death duties, and the finale is a mêlée of salesmen, garish suburban bungalows and unrefined petty bourgeois.

Somehow all this is simplified too much—the characters, though distinct one from another, are obviously types, and the themes lack all complexity. We have here certain aspects of class struggle presented for children to read, and for the landed gentry to applaud. But drama is seldom improved by reading. It is written to be acted. And this play, with proper setting and skilful directing and costuming, might form a charming entertainment.

W.B.B.

Canadian Poetry

POEMS: Ralph Gustafson; Sewanee Review, offprint; pp. 12.

THESE EIGHT POEMS represent the best set of verse published so far this year by a Canadian writer. Mr. Gustafson should be known much more widely than he appears to be in Canada. Born in Quebec, of English-Scandinavian stock, he won the Prix David prize for Canadian literature in 1936. Several of his poems have appeared in the Canadian Forum, including "Quebec Sugarbush" in our February issue. It is good to see an American journal of the distinction of the Sewanee Review giving him such deserved space. The first poem, in lyrical-dramatic form, is the weakest, the diction lacking dramatic variety and the format too abrupt and disjointed. The other seven rank with the best of his work. His particular vein is a philosophic use of nature imagery, usually in short and highly concentrated lines. In a letter to this reviewer recently Mr. Gustafson described his technique as, in part, an "attempt.... to make sensuous imagery fuse—come simultaneously, as sensations do when experienced, a series of parallels rather than hyphens...." When successful, this method produces sharp and imaginative writing somewhat like that of Edith Sitwell's, but less precious and more reflective.

THE CANADIAN FORUM

The dangers, which Mr. Gustafson does not always avoid, are obscurity and cacophony. The present offprint shows a wise search for greater variety in rhythm and an increasing clarity without loss of concentration. "Toponymy" is especially good, and the Biblical rhythm of "Crisis." Mood and thought are authentic and wedded to our times, grim despair and reluctant acceptance of a world once more mad with slaughter. EARLE BIRNEY

Essays at Sea

VERY FREE SPEECH: W. J. Brown; Saunders (Dakers); pp. 273; \$2.50.

IN 1938-39 MR. BROWN, general secretary of the Civil Service Clerical Association, went to Australia; this book is a record of the reflections on the world we live in, engendered during that voyage, and enlivened by his travel experiences. Only long association with civil servants could induce anyone to regard it as "very free speech." Indeed, it is amusing to see how often, in his chief political chapter he is "almost tempted to say." No one will find in the book any daring or very novel revelations, yet there can be no doubt that its writing did give Mr. Brown a sense of freedom. It is his manifesto that though a trade union leader, he is still an individual human being, who can and will think outside the narrow line of business.

His mind is more active than systematic; it is sensible, direct, and receptive rather than original or profound, and approaches the world's problems with a naive gusto that is quite disarming. To anyone outside the routine circle of average English thought, the implications are the most interesting part of the book. For example, his Englishmen of 1938, though he does not seem to be aware of it, sound distressingly like the slum-dwellers in Russian novels—that sense of over-crowding, insecurity, and exasperation. He is more aware of the perplexities about marriage and the home that have bulked so large in English writing of the last generation, and exemplifies uncommonly well that especially English resentment and fear of the women on whose subordination the men feel themselves so precariously dependent. One gets the impression that the men commonly marry to escape responsibility, and when they find to their consternation that they have rather incurred a responsibility they either hatch a neurosis, or if they are really fine fellows they desert their families. Apparently though, for a wife to desert her family, does not show equal nobility of soul, though we are not told why.

Yet though the lack of systematic thought leads into curious blind alleys, the book has still a fundamental unity in its pervading search for and championship of personal integrity, and the final chapter, written in January 1940 on the negative and positive aspects of the war, and their significance for post-war reconstruction, is a tract of real clarity and sober insight. L. A. MACKAY

Education and Democracy

THE PROBLEM TEACHER: A. S. Neil; Langmons, Green (Jenkins); pp. 192; \$1.65.

IF SOCRATES WERE RIGHT in his belief that no one sins except through ignorance, and if all who have dealings with children would read this book, then I, for one, would feel more hopeful about the future of the human race. I fear, however, that the actual effect of

this book on many adults would merely be first to shock them and then to confirm them in their bad old ways of treating children. But perhaps a few who do not already agree may be converted, and, if so, the writing of it will have been well worth while.

A. S. Neil, headmaster of Summerhill School in England ("That Dreadful School") and author also of "The Problem Child" and "The Problem Parent," reiterates once more with passionate sincerity his belief that the child is fundamentally good, that there are no problem children but only problem parents and problem teachers. In this book he goes a step further than before and shifts a good deal of the blame for problem children from the shoulders of problem adults to the problem capitalist system which cramps and maims us all. A better society can be built only by better individuals, better individuals can only come from better schools, dependent in their turn on a better society. One hopes that this may prove to be the spiral of progress and not a vicious circle.

His experience in a progressive school leads him to assume that teachers are more progressive than parents. This is not always true. At many a home and school club meeting one will hear a good proportion of the mothers at any rate condemn the strap, that fascist weapon whose abolition by law should be one of our first actions in the fight against brutality. Its use is completely incompatible with any democratic idea of human dignity. Nor presumably do we wish to teach that might is right. A more democratic attitude between adults and children in school as well as at home would prove a gilt-edged war-bond.

Mr. Neil writes so well and so wittily that it is difficult to quote from his book. Almost every sentence is a gem, and a sparkling one at that.

GWENYTH GRUBE

Poor Old Socrates

WHO WAS SOCRATES? Allan D. Winspear and Tom Silverberg; Gordon Co.; pp. 95; \$1.25 (U.S.)

ANY ATTEMPT TO SAVE SOCRATES from legendary perfection is to be welcomed. He was essentially human and, true Athenian that he was, unashamed and unafraid of pleasure mental or physical. He had, however, incredible powers of physical endurance, and there is no reason to deny him mental endurance, detachment and self-control. To tear down the idol is one thing, to erect in its place the figure of a commonplace opportunist is quite another. His amazing influence cannot be accounted for in this way.

The trouble with the authors' thesis is twofold: it is, one feels, a priori, and they deal with the evidence in a very ingenious but cavalier fashion; further, the particular straitjacket which they try to force on poor old Socrates is, it would seem, of modern make. The pattern is familiar: there is the extreme left, there is the extreme right, and in between are those unpleasant bourgeois who profess to hold a middle course but who in the end will always be found on the right (social fascists, they used to be called!). The development of Socrates becomes parallel to that of a renegade labor leader: early in life he was very poor, very radical and a scientific materialist; in middle life he was a 'centrist', an Anaxogorean and pretty well off; later he became the evil genius of the blackest reaction, an 'idealist', and then spunged on his more prosperous friends.

Such a picture does not, I think, emerge from an un-

biased study of the texts, but only from the determined application of a fixed formula to the texts. I cannot here discuss the strange implications that some of them are made to bear. The authors are clearly right to seek and find relations between certain philosophies and certain social and political groupings, and here they have some very illuminating things to say, but the framework is made too slick and then Socrates is made to fit it. He just doesn't. Granted the well-established changes in his interests between his 'Aristophanic' and his 'Platonic' periods; granted also that in the main only those heard him who had the leisure, and that his criticisms of democracy delighted and encouraged the oligarchs; there is still no evidence to support this curious Ramsay MacDonald-Socrates; no evidence that his mental development was completely conditioned by class conflicts; and certainly no evidence that when he insisted that the mob shall observe the law he was playing a double and rather dirty reactionary (I almost said fascist) game.

Men's philosophies are undoubtedly influenced by their social environment, and that of Socrates as of all others, but men are not automata for all that. Incidentally, the authors' point of view may be turned against themselves: the Socrates of Winspear and Silverberg tells us a great deal about their social and political views; too much in fact to be convincing. G. M. A. GRUBE

Study of Propaganda

THE RAPE OF THE MASSES: Serge Chakotin; Musson

IN THIS IMPORTANT and very readable volume Mr. Chakotin offers a theory to explain the effectiveness of the new propaganda; analyzes, in part historically, propaganda ancient and modern; and for the cure of the latter offers a program of homeopathy, modified by the requirement that the propaganda that might save us—or might have—must be rooted in honesty and truth. If this sounds utopian I hasten to assure the intending reader the author is severely and objectively realistic; if we can hear the undertones of idealism as we read, they are those of an idealism which is realism straining after realization; that realism which, in a man who is more than a student, or standpatter, or dilettante, is in our times indistinguishable from idealism.

Each psychologist has his own explanation for everything. Many oppress us with an individualist and outrageous terminology—but not Mr. Chakotin. We must remember, with all deference, that psychology is not yet an exact science. Mr. Chakotin's explanation of all human conduct in terms of Pavlov's "conditional reflexes," supplemented by his own theory of basic instincts, does not carry full conviction even in the present state of knowledge. However, it is doubtful whether it really contributes efficiently to the activist program which, implicitly throughout, and in very explicit language in the later parts of his book, Mr. Chakotin recommends. In saying which I am far from suggesting that it may not contain the germ of what may prove to be the real solution.

What I have above described as the author's second contribution is unequal in value. His chapters on propaganda in the past and on Hitler's achievements since 1933 are at the best superficial. On the other hand each of chapters VI and VII is separately worth the price of the book.

For the author's third contribution there can be nothing but admiration and praise. It only suffers to the extent

that the only thing that could make it better would be more of it. I commend the book especially to those who are responsible for C.C.F. propaganda, especially chapters III, IV, VI, VII, IX and the conclusion.

R. E. K. PEMBERTON

Geneva Economics

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF A DURABLE PEACE: J. E. Meade; Toronto, Nelson (Allen & Unwin); pp. 192; \$2.00.

THIS LITTLE BOOK by a member of the League Secretariat, whose publications on economics have become fairly well known, illustrates some of the strong points of the League organization as well as its fundamental weakness. Mr. Meade, having been engaged in practical administration, is completely free from the doctrinaire laissez-faire ideas which flourish in such academic centers as London and Chicago. His ideal of international economic relations is, however, that an "International Authority" should achieve by planning the same flexibility in the movement of commodities, capital and population as was characteristic of the liberal period of the nineteenth century. He discusses in detail what arrangements should be made to bring about an approach to a stable international currency, a freely flowing current of international trade, an avoidance of violent fluctuations, a relief from maladjustments in population conditions and in the distribution of colonies and raw materials. These ends will not be reached automatically, but will require considerable limitation of national autonomy. But, like those classical economists in whose hands Adam Smith's realistic Political Economy degenerated into the barren scholasticism of Economics, Mr. Meade averts his gaze altogether from politics; and he never asks how national governments can be brought to accept such an overriding authority, or how the peoples of the world, having just taken part in a bitter struggle for national survival in which each came to believe that one particular nation embodied the ultimate values of civilization, can be educated to entrust power to international bureaucrats. The world today belongs to politicians engaged in fierce drives for power; and economists will have to become politicians also. F.H.U.

Labor without Politics

LABOR AND DEMOCRACY: William Green; Princeton U. P.; pp. 194; \$2.50.

THIS BOOK BY THE PRESIDENT of the American Federation of Labor is not an autobiography, for Mr. Green says little or nothing about his private life; neither is it a history of the American labor movement, for he restricts himself to those organizations and disputes in which he played a part; rather it is a chronicle of his own public life and a discussion of the labor questions that have preoccupied him. The writing is factual and somewhat arid, but Mr. Green has played and is playing an important part in the labor movement, and a record of this kind is of considerable interest.

The son of an English miner who emigrated in 1870 and brought with him the tradition of trade unionism, young William's childhood was spent in a small company mining town in Ohio. Himself a miner at fourteen, he early became the secretary of the United Mineworkers

and as such did a great deal to develop the union and the technique of collective bargaining. Workmen's compensation, employment agencies, child-labor, old age pensions and health insurance, unemployment insurance, these were matters of daily concern to him and he discusses their history and value, as well as the means used to bring them before the public.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book, and certainly the most topical, is that which deals with the period of the last war. The governments then suddenly realized as they are doing again, that they needed labor's willing coöperation, and had to recognize the unions as the natural negotiators on behalf of the workers. It was a grudging recognition, however, and, when the war was over, the struggle for unions and collective bargaining had to start all over again. This story Canadian socialists and labor leaders will do well to ponder. Incidentally, Mr. Green recalls that the Rockefeller Employee Representation plan, which he regards as "a company union to prevent real organization," "was drafted by Mackenzie King, now prime minister of Canada, who personally directed its institution."

The last part of the book is sketchy: on the C.I.O. there is only violent invective against John L. Lewis, and there is nothing about the recent A. F. of L. activities, which in some cases have been so puzzling. Over this delicate ground Mr. Green travels hurriedly. Further, in view of the long story of ruthless opposition to unionization recorded here, it is difficult to understand how Mr. Green remains so unalterably opposed to direct political action, and so convinced that unions should remain out of it and merely support this or that politician or party to secure their rights. That is the Gompers tradition and it remains, to Mr. Green, the American way. Actually, it is the way to palliatives only, and can never lead to real reconstruction. Though he has himself been a Ohio senator, Mr. Green will not or cannot see that the methods of the last century are not sufficient in this. Indeed, they never were.

G. M. A. GRUBE

Paying for the War

WAR FINANCE IN CANADA: F. H. Brown, J. D. Gibson, and A. F. W. Plumptre; Toronto, Ryerson Press; Contemporary Affairs Pamphlets No. 3: pp. 110; 75c.

THIS BOOKLET is one of a series being issued by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Mr. Brown is an inspector of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Mr. Gibson is the economist of the Bank of Nova Scotia, and Mr. Plumptre is the specialist on money and finance on the economics staff of the University of Toronto. Mr. Brown's contribution is a short historical account of how Canada financed the last war, and generally speaking is a defense of the policy of the government at that time. Mr. Gibson gives a general discussion of the principles of war finance, Mr. Plumptre goes into details of what the government budget for a hypothetical year "1941" might be expected to be if the minister of finance followed out Mr. Gibson's principles. One judges that the last two contributors hardly share the approval of the first for the budgets of Sir Thomas White. None of them appears to advocate such drastic action as is implied in recent speeches of officials of the Bank of Canada. But this little book is the first discussion of the subject in Canada which gives specific figures in any detail so that the reader can judge what general principles are likely to mean in practice.

F.H.U.

Miscellany

AN OZARK ANTHOLOGY: Edited by Vance Randolph; Copp Clark; (Caxton); pp. 374; \$2.50, (U.S.).

A SET OF STORIES all about one restricted region is likely to prove of greater value to sociology than to literature, even if the locale is the almost legendary land of the hillbillies. Mr. Randolph's Ozark anthology is no great exception, but he has chosen his tales with little thought for the Booster clubs of Missouri and Arkansas, and with an eye to good writing as well as to good folklore. The fifteen stories and sketches undoubtedly represent the best that has been written about this region in the last decade, though most of them have already been published in the slick magazines and bear the impress of their standardized romanticism. George Milburn's "Honey Boy", however, eminently deserved reprinting and an unpublished story by William Cunningham, "Bank Robbers Eat Ham", is the most amusing piece of short fiction I have read this year.

There are some new dialect fairy-tales as set down by Professor Robert L. Morris of the University of Arkansas, and an excellent account of an attempted retreat to the hillbilly life by two New York artists, Charlie-May Simon and her husband, the poet John Gould Fletcher. Thomas Hart Benton contributes both a cover design and an essay. The book, as a whole, is a little over-stuffed with the usual feuds and moonshine and conflicting imitations of the American-Elizabethan speech of the Ozarks, but it contains much also about the real life of those hills today, the retreat of last-ditch pioneer individualism before the mounting waters of the depression, crop restriction, crop failure and Rooseveltian relief.

E. B.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS: Papers presented at a Conference on Industrial Relations sponsored by Queen's University, April 10-12, 1940; pp. 50; School of Commerce and Administration, Queen's University, Kingston.

THIS PAMPHLET has a rather good address by Professor Mackintosh on wage policy in war-time. Outside of this it is mainly interesting for the light it throws on the well-known objectivity and impartiality with which our Canadian universities conduct their intellectual activities. This conference on industrial relations had sixty-seven members, of whom about half a dozen were professors or government officials, the overwhelming majority were personnel managers or high officials of the chief industrial corporations of the dominion, and some five represented labor, the subject of discussion—Tom Moore of the Trades and Labor Congress, A. R. Mosher and M. M. Maclean of the A.C.C.L., A. Charpentier of the Quebec Catholic unions, and Drummond Wren of the W.E.A. Nothing seems to have occurred that would disturb the peaceful repose of Kingston.

F.H.U.

MAN VERSUS THE STATE: Herbert Spencer; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 213; \$2.50.

THERE IS EXCUSE for reissuing Spencer's "classic statement of the case for individual liberty" which has been long out of print, but none for issuing it as a tract for the times—"a theme revived in an acute form by the struggle between democratic and totalitarian systems." Spencer's work is a plea against governmental regimen-

tation. Most of the evils of society in his day he attributed to interference by the state going as far back as the reign of Edward III. He disclaimed satisfaction with the status quo, implying that if the state stopped interfering with the private and business life of the community things would be much better—that laws and regulations to curb evils never accomplished their purpose, but created evils far worse.

Well, who knows, Spencer may have been right. But much water has gone under the bridge and a state based on "voluntary coöperation" is as visionary as More's Utopia. If Spencer were writing today he would never have produced "Man vs. the State." He's been dead these many years. Albert Jay Nock, who contributes the preface, hasn't the same excuse. JOHN A. DEWAR

PEACE IN OUR TIME: James P. Warburg; Musson (Harpers); pp. 76; 90c.

THIS BOOK ADDRESSES ITSELF to the average man, or rather the average American, and asks him to consider what the events in Europe mean to him. What would be, for the United States, the results of Allied victory, Allied defeat, or a deadlock? Mr. Warburg does not answer his own questions, but seeks merely to set forth the factors involved and asks his reader to consider. Those who do will no doubt come to the conclusion that American isolation is no longer possible; and this is clearly what the author intends.

The detached tone may occasionally irritate the Canadian reader. Yet it is undoubtedly the right tone in which to approach the plain American, and patience on our part will be rewarded by a better understanding of the average American point of view, and of his acute discomfort. It is essential that we should understand them.

Pamphlets

WAR FOR POWER AND POWER FOR PEACE by Lionel Gelber (pp. 40, 10c) is the sixth Canadian pamphlet in the Oxford series on world affairs. It is a plea not to be ashamed of power, a plea that Franco-British predominance in Europe is essential to the future of western civilization, that the allies must use their victorious power to occupy Germany, to control it and allow the Germans freedom only in so far as they show themselves worthy of it. Mr. Gelber insists, very rightly, that the German officer class and renegade Nazis must not be put in power in post-war Germany. This main thesis is clear, though it leaves many loose ends, and begs many questions; Mr. Gelber wants a dictated peace, even if he is not very helpful as to what kind of a peace we should dictate.

But he introduces unnecessary confusion by calling Franco-British supremacy "the balance of power" in Europe, and identifying it, apparently, with the age-old, and very different, British policy of maintaining a balance between continental powers. Mr. Gelber maintains that national sovereignty is good, regards all advocates of federation with the most supercilious contempt, and then goes on to want another league of nations—yet this clearly requires drastic limitations of national sovereignty if it is not to be another fiasco. This confusion is not

lessened by a rather florid rhetoric, which also leads to unnecessary vagueness.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY by G. F. Powell, with cartoons by Low (Dent, pp. 63; 35c) attempts to define democracy by the method of question and answer. It advises electors to put continuous pressure on their members of parliament, which is sound, as perhaps is the question of referring particular questions to the electorate and the contention that the public should initiate measures and not be satisfied to assent and dissent. But the author leans too heavily on the contention that the electorate should be concerned only with ends, not means. That distinction is unreal and impossible, even though we may agree that technicalities should be avoided. In fact the concern with ends only could but lead to a series of Aberharts. There are seven good Low cartoons. The best is the frontispiece, with democracy as a healthy young athlete strapped to a wheel-chair pushed by Chamberlain and shadowy old shapes labelled 'out of date vested interests,' none of whom take any notice of the young athlete's cry: "Damn it, I tell you I'm NOT delicate!"

PENSIONS AFTER SIXTY? by Maxwell Stewart (pp. 32; 10c), a new Public Affairs pamphlet, discusses the various plans for old age pensions brought forward in the U.S., from the Townsend's \$200 a month to the provisions of the Social Security Act now in force. Mr. Stewart explains the growing importance of the problem, with the number of persons over 60 growing rapidly, even in proportion to the population: 5½% in 1890 to 10% today and an estimated 17% in 1970. The cost of the Townsend 'Ham and Egg' and other plans would be fantastic, but Mr. Stewart looks forward to more liberal allowances and greater coverage in the near future. Another good number in an interesting series.

THIS CANADA, a C.B.C. publication (25c), is a series of twelve radio talks by Professor Arthur Phelps of Manitoba. Mr. Phelps travelled all over Canada last summer, and he here gives his impressions. There is an introduction, one talk on each province and two more on Canada's relations to the U.S. and the world at large. The whole makes friendly, pleasant, and also interesting reading, for Mr. Phelps is not content with a description of Canada's natural beauties. He does give that, but he also gives us many a refreshingly frank comment on people and places, and he does not ignore the problems and difficulties of the various provinces. He examines hopefully the development of a Canadian nationality and culture, but he is no mere booster. If difficult problems are rather lightly touched upon, as they must be on an occasion like this, let us hope that his booklet, like the talks themselves, may at least make people realize that the problems exist. Another C.B.C. publication, THE CANADIAN HERITAGE, is a collection of talks by twelve different speakers. As such they are naturally uneven, and the tone tends to be more official. Several of them, however, are very good—in particular Sir William Mulock on the introduction of the penny post during his time of office as postmaster general; Arthur Phelps again on the difficulties of teaching English literature to young Canadians when the scenes of that literature are so far away, and the danger of ignoring modern American books; Edgar McInnes in a brief review of Canada today; and Warwick Chipman on Magna Carta.

The Fine Art of Propaganda; a study of Father Coughlin's speeches; Ed. A. M. C. Lee and E. B. Lee; Harcourt Brace; Institute for Propaganda Analysis; pp. 140.

This is a somewhat laborious study, with plentiful illustrations, of the propaganda tricks used in the Coughlin speeches. The authors advise us on how to immunize ourselves to propaganda by analyzing exactly how these emotion-stirring devices are used, along with the most unscrupulous fabrications. They list seven main devices, give a brief analysis of each and then proceed to show them up. The seven devices are, name-calling; glittering generalities (virtue words); transfer (transferring the prestige of something respected to something else); testimonial, plain folks, card stacking (misleading selection of facts) and band wagon ("everybody is doing it"). Studding their quotations with a different symbol for each, they devote a chapter to each.

The booklet should be useful to both the demagogues and their victims.

Wage Setting Based on Job Analysis and Evaluation: C. C. Balderston; Industrial Relations Counselors; pp. 59; \$1 (U.S.)

Wage setting which involves the awarding of a certain number of "points" out of a maximum number fixed for such qualities as education, analytical ability, initiative, dependability, mental and physical application, and working conditions gives the impression of a pseudo-scientific process. The methods suggested in this monograph result, we are told, in fairness to and good relations with employees, and they may well be as satisfactory as any other known methods; and they are clearly described.

C. A. A.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Quest for Peace: William E. Rappard; Harvard; pp. 516; \$4 (U.S.).

What is Democracy?: G. F. Powell; Dent; pp. 63; 35c.

War for Power and Power for Peace: Lionel M. Gelber; Oxford; pp. 40; 10c.

Pensions After Sixty: Maxwell S. Stewart; Public Affairs Pamphlet; pp. 32; 10c.

Canadian Investment and Foreign Exchange: J. F. Parkinson; University of Toronto Press; pp. 292; \$3.

The Canadian Heritage: Canadian Broadcasting Corp.; pp. 60; 25c.

Federal Illusion: D. N. Pritt; Saunders (Muller); pp. 152; 85c.

Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, Vol. I, Historical: Marcus Lee Hansen; Ryerson (Yale University Press); pp. 274; \$3.75.

Wicked Book of Brother Barnabas: Richard R. Smith; pp. 413; \$2.75 (U.S.).

Agnes Strickland: Una Pope-Hennessy; Macmillans (Chatto & Windus) pp. 328; \$5.25.

Canada—America's Problem: John MacCormac; Macmillans (Viking); pp. 287; \$3.25.

Last Poems and Plays: W.B. Yeats; Macmillans; pp. 126; \$2.

World's End: Upton Sinclair; Macmillans; pp. 740; \$3.

Last of the Bandit Riders: Matt Warner, Murray E. King; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 337; \$3.50.

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